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The Week

THE Senate has ordered the investigation of the Department of Justice by a practically unanimous vote. With only one exception the Republican senators refused to consider the proposed investigation as a partisan political attack. They tacitly admitted the existence of a prima facie case against Secretary Daugherty sufficiently strong to justify a thoroughgoing inquiry. The committee of investigation is properly constituted for this purpose. It is not a judicial body. Its function is to examine the operations of the Department of Justice and elicit facts. It should, consequently, be composed, as it is, of senators who are eager to discover and publish all the facts without fear and without favor. Their disclosure cannot do any harm to Mr. Daugherty unless they indicate inefficiency, corruption, negligence, prejudice or favoritism in the administration of his office. On the contrary if the investigators fail to prove malfeasance or gross negligence against the Attorney-General there will be a reaction of public opinion in his favor. He will then appear to the American people like a man who has been unjustly persecuted. The costs, as between him and his accusers, will abide the event.

IN the meantime the latest developments in the hearing before the Public Lands Committee of the Senate look bad for at least one bureau in the Department of Justice—the Bureau of Criminal Investigation with Mr. Burns at its head. Mr. Burns will have a good deal to explain. He will have to explain why he communicated tips about the investigation to an individual who was being investigated under suspicious circumstances by another department of the government. He will have to explain why that individual was allowed the use of the departmental code, and why when the cipher telegrams were published he did not immediately translate the messages for the committee's benefit. The recent disclosures strongly suggest a culpable conspiracy on the part of one bureau of the department for the purpose of preventing a Senate committee from exposing the existence of corruption in another department. A conspiracy of this kind may or may not imply actual knowledge of the corrupt act, but even though no such knowledge exists, it reveals a disposition to shelter suspected offenders on the part of the Department of Justice which is outrageous and should be considered criminal.

IS it an accident that so many of the men who, while in office, were most ferocious in the denunciation of "radicals" and most prone to illegal violence in prosecuting them should be disclosed as men who are by no means fastidious in the conduct of public and private affairs? Mr. Lusk for instance, who was so valiant and unscrupulous in defending the American political system against the pacifists and socialists proved to be similarly unscrupulous in the conduct of his office as state senator. Mr. Palmer, the ex-Attorney General who ignored so many of the guarantees of the bill of rights in pursuing alien agitators, is discovered to be perfectly willing to capitalize his political influence in order to increase his legal practice. Mr. McLean's newspapers have consistently demonstrated in vigorous words his hatred of people

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whose opinions implied disloyalty to the American Constitution, but he was perfectly willing to tell a falsehood in order to protect the man who has done more to promote distrust of the American government than any man of this generation. Finally it is notorious that the Bureau of Criminal Investigation of the Department of Justice has in the pursuit of alien "reds" who were supposed to be legally subject to deportation inflicted a colossal amount of unnecessary suffering and cruel injustice on hundreds of harmless and innocent individuals. It is now practically proved that in this bureau there were a number of employees, including its present chief, who were not unwilling to protect a suspected offender against the laws. The fact is, of course, that the people who were prominently engaged in the criminal pursuit of the "radicals" from 1918 to 1922 were a cheap and violent crowd who themselves were bound sooner or later to indulge in shabby behavior of doubtful propriety or honesty.

PRIME MINISTER MACDONALD'S letter to Poincaré is an admirable example of open diplomacy. It states frankly, but in the friendliest spirit, the grounds for the almost universal British suspicion of French policy. Waiving all technicalities, the Prime Minister presents the fundamental British opposition to the destruction of Germany, political and economic, to the setting up of a system of satellite states backed by French influence and French money, and to a military policy, especially with respect to aerial developments, that menaces the security of England. The Prime Minister does not underwrite the popular charges against France, but sets them forth merely as grounds of misunderstanding, which frankness on both sides might abate or dispel. He is more explicit with respect to immediate British interests. England, he points out, is actually suffering, through the European disorganization attendant upon French policy, and her economic losses are comparable to those wrought by the German invasion in northern France. The risk of war entailed by French policy also weighs heavily upon the prospects of England. England, though suffering from economic depression, is loyally paying the interest on her debt to the United States. France makes no move toward paying anything on her debt to England, although the French tax-payer is much less heavily burdened than the British. The Prime Minister does not insist that France should pay, but he does insist that this fact should be taken into account when the reparations question is being considered.

POINCARÉ'S reply is equally friendly in tone. But as to substance it concedes absolutely nothing. French policy, he tries to prove, has been exactly right at every point. France does not wish to annex an inch of German soil. She merely wishes security. The Germans must not be in a position to use the Rhine as their base in a new attack on France. As for keeping Germany impoverished, how could France be so foolish as to want to keep a debtor too poor to pay? France went into the Ruhr only to make Germany live up to the Treaty. She wants what the Treaty gave her, no more, no less. The arrangements with the new states of Central Europe have only the object of maintaining the Treaty. France would be glad to have England join in those arrangements. As for French air development menacing England, how could the English think of such a thing? They are directed against Germany, exclusively. Poincaré notes with pleasure that the British government is ready to discuss inter-Allied debts along with reparations. The French have always wanted them handled together.

JUST where are the real relations between France and England left after this exchange of courtesies? French policy will remain as ruinous to British economic interests and as menacing to her peace as it was before. Barring the Ruhr invasion, as of doubtful legality, the French policy rests squarely on the Treaty of Versailles. Revision of the Treaty alone can restore peace and order to Europe. Premier MacDonald knows it; Lloyd George knows it; practically all England knows it. Arthur Henderson said it, and produced a great tempest. One is reminded of the unspeakable names in mediaeval magic. Sooner or later, however, the British government will have to use the word "revision" responsibly, if it is to make any progress in the defence of British interests and European peace.

THE fall of the Belgian ministry is another symptom of the breakdown of the Allied political structure erected upon the foundations of a Carthaginian peace. The essential weakness of the peace settlement lay in its disregard of economic facts. Rome could destroy Carthage and prosper all the better for her barbarity, because Carthage was nothing but a rival commercial centre. The Allies could not destroy Germany or even enslave her without shattering the international mechanism of production by which they lived. The British were the first to have this truth pressed home to them, by commercial stagnation and chronic unemployment. Italy, with her economic and financial conditions going from bad to worse and her politics so completely disorganized as to make Mussolini the only practicable solution, next realized what mischief the Peace Treaty was working. The consequence was a split in the Allied camp, with the British and Italians standing for revision in effect though not in name while France and Belgium held out for the strict execution of the treaty. The steadily mounting costs of the policy of holding Germany down, with the at-

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tendant decline of the franc, had begun to shake the determination of both the French and the Belgians, but especially the Belgians, whose industry suffered most from the general European depression. Now the party which backed the French has fallen. France stands tottering alone.

PREMIER THEUNIS had proved himself a most valuable satellite of Poincaré. Belgian backing was most useful in giving an Allied color to the Ruhr invasion. Poincaré would hardly have consented to the inquiry of the Committee of Experts if he had not counted on Belgium to assist in controlling the experts' recommendations, or in rejecting them if they were unfavorable to the French contentions. But now Poincaré finds himself without reliable international support, at the very time when it may be most needed. His position had already been weakened by the decline in the franc, and by the confessions of unsound finance implied by his taxation bill. His enemies in the Chambers are steadily growing stronger. If it were worth while to do so on the eve of the elections, they would probably find it easy to turn him out of office. He may remain, by sufferance. But his days as a commanding figure in European politics are numbered.

THE overwhelming majority in the House for the Longworth compromise tax bill indicates that President Coolidge will be presented with a piece of legislation which he may not like to sign but will hardly dare to veto. The "country"—that is, the income tax payers—is in deadly earnest. All the proposed plans of reduction promise some relief to every tax payer. He wants as much relief as he can get, and he would have small patience with any party which denied him all reduction on the pretext that greater relief ought to be forthcoming. This is the secret of the initial popularity of the Mellon plan. Except the insignificant minority of the very rich, no class of tax payers had reason to be wholly satisfied with that plan. As the official plan of the administration it seemed surer of realization than any better plan would be. Now that the Longworth compromise plan looks capable of commanding enough votes to override a presidential veto, the whole popular support is likely to concentrate on it.

POLITICALLY one of the strongest points in the bill is the reduction of twenty-five percent in income taxes payable for the year 1923. It is a bird in hand. Compared to the taxes to be paid March 15, those falling due a year hence are highly abstract, in the average man's mind. Fiscally there is little to recommend this reduction. Whatever evasions the high rates of the existing law might induce have already been made. Every prudent tax payer has adjusted his affairs with a view to meeting the tax at the full rate, and it would therefore be collected at no excessive sacrifice. It would be a far saner policy to collect the whole tax and use any surplus accruing for the reduction of the public debt. But apparently there is little popular interest in debt reduction. It would reduce taxation in the long run, and help to guarantee financial stability in any future crisis involving heavy borrowings. Most people would admit that these are important ends, but few are willing to make sacrifices for them now.

THE action of the Senate Committee on Immigration in retaining the 1910 census as the quota basis and reducing the quota to two percent, with exception for near relatives of citizens, is on the whole the best way out of a bad mess. It insures the country against a flood of immigrants, avoids undue offence to any element in our population and gives us time to think the problem through. We need time. The war and the post war period of hysteria offered the very worst possible background for thinking out so complicated a problem as immigration. In such times national homogeneity is inevitably given an abnormally high rating. No adequate allowance is made for the social and cultural benefits that spring from diversity in the constitution of a people. There must be a golden mean between bigoted and reactionary nativism and loose, sentimental cosmopolitanism. Of the two nativism is probably the greater danger to American civilization, to judge from the exploits of the Ku Klux Klan and the suppression of freedom of thought in our schools. We are not, however, confined to a choice between these two evils. Give us time, and we may find the path of sanity.

MR. DOHENY says he expected to make $100,000,000 out of the oil leases; the graft in the Veterans' Bureau is supposed to have amounted to $250,000,000. By that standard which Americans are counted to hold most in reverence the latter investigation should be the highest in public attention. But oil leads the field, and for every ten Americans who know that "hocusing" means "thinking," there are probably not half that number who studied the indictments brought by the Chicago Federal Grand Jury against Colonel Forbes and John W. Thompson, a contractor. These two are charged with conspiracy to defraud the government, in a series of transactions which, says the Jury's special report, involved speculation by one or more government officials, who used official information for the purpose; the payment of money to two members of Congress; and the accepting of money by "certain individuals" for the purpose of obtaining pardons and liquor permits "through their intimacy with officials." This is a small beginning in what may prove to be a far dirtier business than the oil scandal, if one less likely to receive public notice because of the lesser caliber of its participants.

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IN passing a resolution, offered by Senator Norris, calling upon several government departments for the names of any former members of the Cabinet or of Congress who, within two years after leaving office, may have appeared in connection with any claim, or been associated with any law firm pressing a claim against the government, the Senate has started something. The resolution is designed to uncover violations of a particular law, but the Senate should go further toward exposing practices which may at present be legal but are not at all conducive to decent government. It would be useful, if discouraging, to know how many former members of Congress or of government departments settle down in Washington, after quitting office, to various businesses in which former government service is surely quite as great an asset as professional ability. From resisting lobbyists—taking the word to mean someone who is trying to get something from the government for himself or his client—to becoming one of them, is neither a long nor a difficult nor an unusual step.

SINCE the recognition of Soviet Russia by Great Britain the Allied American Corporation, which acts as agent for the American-Russian trade, has been receiving twice as many inquiries from American companies anxious to deal with Russia as before. The number of companies doing business, and the volume of that business, have been steadily increasing. On July 14 of last year the Allied American Corporation signed an agreement with the Russian Foreign Trade Monopoly Bureau which has already yielded a turnover of nearly three million dollars, and is expected to reach ten million before the year is up. The concerns selling to Russia on a basis of cash and credit, or credit of from six months to two years, include such as the Ford Motor Company, the United States Rubber Company, the American Rolling Mills, and the Westinghouse Electric. American are still at a disadvantage compared with British firms, who extend much longer credits, and will continue to be at a disadvantage so long as we leave Russia unrecognized, in other words, so long as Mr. Hughes remains true to his own private principles.

HOW scant the respect for freedom of thought really is in a characteristically American state is proved again by the findings of the Committee on Academic Freedom of the Association of American Professors in the case of Arthur Fisher, summarily ousted from his professorship of law at the University of Montana. Professor Fisher had become interested in a Nonpartisan League newspaper, the New Northwest, and thereby incurred the hostility of the enemies of the League. Charges were presented by the American Legion of the state demanding his dismissal on the charge of unpatriotic conduct during the war. This charge had so little substantial foundation that the Service Committee of the University reported unanimously that there was no valid reason for terminating the contract of Mr. Fisher. Nevertheless, the State Board of Education voted that Mr. Fisher be considered on leave of absence with pay until the termination of his contracted appointment. Thereupon he was prohibited from meeting his classes. The only defence offered for this highhanded treatment is that Professor Fisher went beyond his legitimate province in participating actively in the Nonpartisan movement. He did not go beyond his rights as citizen, and the vital question is, does a teacher in a higher educational institution forfeit any part of his rights as a citizen? The Association of University Professors insists properly that "it is impossible to engage any professor in any educational institution on the condition that he refrain from 'partisan or contentious activities.'"

MR. STEWART BROWNE, President of the United Real Estate Owners' Association, has decided to become a citizen of the United States. If he's like what he says, he's like this:

> No poor man should ever hold office. If senators of wealth had been elected to serve without pay there wouldn't have been any oil scandal. Democracy is on a toboggan slide. Mussolini is right. The woman's vote has delivered New York to the Bolshevists, and 80 percent of the people of New York are communists. . . . No one is trying to fight back this Bolshevism in the city except me. . . . If I could write a column a day in a newspaper I could win. (New York World.)

Mussolini was right. Citizen Browne, have a toboggan.

THE great majority of the inhabitants of our large cities are suffering severely from the necessity of paying rents beyond their means, or crowding themselves into quarters too limited for health and decency. They do nothing about it but complain, and most of them are too dispirited even to complain. A few small groups, however, have addressed themselves seriously to working out a solution through coöperative ownership. The most notable success has been achieved by a small body of Finns in Brooklyn. They have built apartment houses in which they provide themselves with comfortable accommodations at practically one half the prevailing rentals. It is a paradox that the pioneering in this field should be done, not by native Americans who enjoy the advantages of full adjustment to the conditions of the country, but by one of the newer alien groups, handicapped by small earning power. But surely the native Americans will not long lag behind. Anyone who wants to know how to go about forming a coöperative housing association will find information exactly to his purpose in a little booklet published by the Cooperative League of America, 167 West 12th Street, New York.

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Loosing the Scapegoat

> And when he hath made an end of reconciling the holy place and the Tabernacle of the congregation and the altar, he shall bring the live goat;
>
> And Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins, putting them upon the head of the goat, and shall send him away by the hand of a fit man into the wilderness: Lev. 16: 20-21.

A CORRESPONDENT, Mr. Monroe W. Sloyer of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in a recent communication to the New Republic very properly asks some of his fellow countrymen to consider candidly what in the light of the recent exposures they are and should be doing in the interest of national purification. "The sending of a scapegoat into the wilderness," he points out, "has not gone entirely out of fashion." The chief difference between our practice and that of the children of Israel is that we no longer choose the victim by lot. "We send out him who has or seems to have accumulated the largest number of transgressions in his own right. Then we gather around the goat and cast on him all the loose tribal sins we can lay our hands to and send them out with him, vaguely hoping that he will not wend his way back to the pen. The goat is never hard to find. The greater difficulty lies in finding a fit man to lead him into the wilderness."

In the opinion of our correspondent, however, Americans devote too much time and energy to selecting and denouncing the scapegoat and too little to a contemplation of the communal transgressions which he bears with him into the wilderness. "In that respect," he asserts, "the tribe runs true to form. It insists upon subordinating all action in the drama to the part and the performance of the star." Although the consternation raised by the appearance of the recent crop of sins is widespread and overpowering, there has been as yet no serious attempt to discover what it was in the seed, the climate and in the soil of the American national life which has specified and encouraged the growth of such a foul crop.

Mr. Sloyer makes his own attempt at discovery and, as we believe, his insight has prompted him to search in a promising direction. He traces these recurrent spasms of muck-racking and the recurrent hunt for a sacrificial scapegoat to the subordination "of the whole educational scheme to the power of things as they are." This is, in our opinion, a sound explanation, but it is not an obvious one and it will require some elaboration and some explanation before it is likely to look even plausible to many other people. The explanation which we shall give of Mr. Sloyer's formula is almost entirely our own, but it is, we believe, a fair and sympathetic interpretation of his meaning.

By "educational scheme" Mr. Sloyer is thinking not merely of the schools and colleges, but of the mental and moral attitude of the ordinary American towards his experience and activities. The American people as a rule bring to their major business, professional and political occupations a cultivated bias in favor of things as they are. We have been on the whole an extremely prosperous community in which for many generations one of the most useful services a man could render to his country was to pursue energetically and, as many Americans have believed, somewhat unscrupulously, his private interests. The theory was that, if the different activities of American life were allowed to run free, they would gather from innumerable individual sources into a great massive river which would flow irresistibly and majestically down hill to the ocean of individual and national fulfillment. Some of the water might come from tainted sources, but it would automatically purify itself in the flowing. There was only one serious danger to ultimate success. Some ignorant or maleficent faction in the community might ruin it by overthrowing or altering the system of law, government and practice which had enabled the people to take advantage of their unprecedented opportunities for the satisfaction of their wants.

The theory was a fair interpretation of significant and undeniable facts. The river of popular American activity did undoubtedly to a considerable extent purify itself as it ran. Yet particularly since the free land was occupied, the natural resources appropriated and big business unloosed, the factories, smelters and oil refineries on its banks have poured impurities into the river for which there was no automatic cleansing. The intellectual and moral attitude of the ordinary American has not yet adjusted itself to the apparition of this grave obstacle. He believes or pretends to himself to believe that the river of American activity is still flowing serenely and irresistibly towards an ocean of mass fulfillment. This belief prevents him from observing or criticizing with any disinterestedness and sincerity the purpose, the method and the value of those activities which he personally, his associates and his fellow-countrymen are performing. He takes so many of the essential values for granted that he cannot arouse himself to look around and to consider his own and other people's pursuits for what they are worth. They have become to him sacred occupations which are justified by faith rather than experimental attempts to accomplish results which are in continual need of criticism and revision.

This combination in the average American mind of optimism, fatalism, conservatism, laxity, inattention and suspicion creates an atmosphere in which numerous abuses and frauds abound and thrive. The unscrupulous and the semi-unscrupulous start something which enables them to benefit largely at the expense of others. If they were surrounded by vigilant observers, their schemes would attract attention and would soon wither

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away, but the trouble is that they do not attract attention. The good people who will themselves have nothing to do with such questionable enterprises allow them to flourish. They grow until they become sufficiently prosperous to be considered almost respectable, or if they are entirely unsupportable, they grow until they become monstrous and loathsome and expose themselves. When the day of reckoning comes, as it has now come for the oil lessees, there is, of course, violent and general public indignation. The exposed sinners are denounced as traitors to their country and all are agreed in demanding their quick and severe punishment. There is a general disposition to admit the existence of a certain tribal responsibility for the corruption in order to celebrate the necessity of drastic and dramatic expiation. But it is the essence of the matter that the atonement shall take place wholly at the expense of the goat. Any fault which may attach to the rest of the tribe is expiated by their eager wish to find and punish the sinner. When they pack him off to the wilderness he carries their sins with him. The good American, purified by the sacrifice, can then return to the profitable tribal custom of cultivating his own vine and fig tree.

Such in general is the explanation which justifies Mr. Sloyer in attributing the kind of corruption which is now being exposed in Washington to an educational system which worships things as they are. American conservatism is not primarily a political, an economic or a religious creed. It is a cultivated state of mind which infects private as well as public activities. It is a cultural barrier which the prosperous but apprehensive American middle class have erected against discontent, heresy and reform and against the vigilance, the open mind and the continuous attention which successful reformation demands. It is a moral and intellectual compensation for the laxity of conduct which pervades American business and professional practice. There was a period during the first fifteen years of the twentieth century when it looked as if an equally conscious progressivism would succeed in associating American national fulfillment with a gradual process of political and social reconstruction, but the war put an end to the evangelizing radicalism of the Roosevelt period. Mr. Harding was elected on a program which clearly proclaimed a reaction to the days of Grant and McKinley and which explicitly revived the traditional American disposition to realize the national destiny by making it easy for private business. It is inevitable that Republican "normalcy" would prove to be a fertile field in which frauds, scandals and abuses would obtain a luxuriant growth.

Our American middle class conservatism is particularly costly in that it blinds its possessors to the abuses of private as well as of public affairs. In fact the two kinds of obscurantism are almost indistinguishable. The standards of American business and professional men render them inattentive and indifferent to the doubtful practices of their own group. When the bankers meet, their speakers call attention to the maleficent influence of politics on banking; they demand any changes in the laws which bankers may need in their own interest and they ventilate their grievances, but they never ask themselves how efficiently the American banks, as now organized and conducted, are fulfilling their function in the national economy. Yet it is because of remediable defects in banking organizations and conduct that the banks are the victims of political agitation. This criticism is unfortunately no less true of practically all American business functions which involve major public responsibilities. Their conductors do not pay sufficient attention to the way they themselves and their associates are doing their bit. They seem incapable of reforming their own practices until the pressure from without forces their hand. They criticize freely the transgressions of legislatures and politicians, but when their own negligence brings criticism on themselves they passionately denounce the ignorance and the political motives of the attacks. No doubt the political reformers are often troublesome busybodies. Nevertheless they are necessary evils precisely because private business compels the public conscience of the nation to try to accomplish by political interference reforms which should be accomplished by the conscience and the voluntary effort of the business men themselves.

Peace by Education

THE World Federation of Educational Associations has offered a prize of $25,000 to the person who submits the "best educational plan to provide world peace and international justice." The newspaper announcement of this competition leaves ambiguous the meaning of the word "educational" in front of the word "plan." Are those plans to provide for world peace and international justice which seek this end by the route of popular education the only plans to be considered? Or will no plan be considered which does not invoke an educational method to secure its future acceptance by the American people? Whatever it means the point of this new competition is obvious. Its promoters implicitly criticize the Bok plan or its method of propagation as being insufficiently "educational." They expect apparently by offering a prize for a plan which is more "educational" to accomplish something on behalf of peace which the Bok plan did not accomplish.

The implied criticism is not true of the plan itself. Although political in form it founded international peace and justice, not on government, but on a discriminating international opinion which could only be derived from popular moral educa-

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tion. To this extent no new plan could be more educational than Mr. Levermore's. But its custodians were faithless to the ideal of education from which the plan needed to derive its vitality. They did nothing at all to encourage discussion of the Levermore proposal as compared to other competing proposals or as compared to the present League of Nations or as compared to some demonstration in the direction of the immediate outlawry of war. They merely tried to "sell" the idea to the American public just as you might sell the Ladies Home Journal or the Saturday Evening Post. They started to advertise it so successfully as a practicable road to peace that the American people would be hypnotized into supporting it. The popular referendum in which citizens were asked to vote for or against the plan without being offered a positive alternative and without encouraging any preliminary analysis, exploration or discussion of its meaning was essentially uneducational. Although special groups did in many cases base an educational discussion on it, the referendum itself was sheer propaganda on behalf of a preordained Idea.

Under the conditions of its official promotion the only success the Bok plan could have obtained would have been a cheap and worthless success. A vote in its favor might, of course, in the cases of thousands of sincere pacifists have implied an enlightened and really effective choice, but the plan was not needed for their benefit. It was needed to engage the interest and arouse the intelligent coöperation of the ordinary citizen; and most of the ordinary citizens who have voted for it as a result of the official promotion have meant as much by the vote as they would have meant by the act of buying some Mineralava as the result of display advertising. The affirmative voter was in effect betting a half dollar on his ignorant and credulous impression that the Bok peace plan or Mineralava were good things. If by any chance the American government had accepted the plan, the voters who had been beguiled or hypnotized into an affirmative choice would not have known enough to give it intelligent and loyal support. The American people will not be converted to an active participation in the organization of international peace by the arts of the advertising agent.

As a matter of fact, however, the Bok peace plan has not earned even the kind and amount of support which, considering the advertisement it has received, might have been fairly expected. It is not precisely a "dud." It did after a fashion explode. But it exploded in the air like a skyrocket, and it is now perpetuated by a shower of rapidly disappearing sparks. Soon it will totally vanish and the coroner's jury will assemble to reach some verdict or other about the cause of its premature death. They will point out, perhaps, how unfortunate Mr. Bok was to have lighted the fuse only a few weeks before public attention was to be distracted by one of the most sensational and scandalous exposures in American political history. There would, of course, be some truth in this obituary notice, but if Mr. Bok and his assistants attribute their failure to some such accidental cause, they will place a wholly false interpretation on it. The Levermore plan, notwithstanding its intrinsic merits, could not be affirmed and popularized by a mechanical referendum. Such miseducation on behalf of a good cause is always costly to the cause. The favorable propaganda provoked counter-propaganda and the counter-propaganda of the isolationists sounded much more familiar and persuasive to the ordinary American than did a complicated peace proposal which nothing in their own experience prompted them to explore and understand. The Bok plan was killed by the fact that the unintelligence of its opponents was more representative than the unintelligence of its promoters.

Those Americans who have been working with so much devotion on behalf of their country's participation in the organization of world peace cannot be very well satisfied with the result of their efforts. Notwithstanding their own numbers and resources, the strength of their cause and a not unfavorable press, they are making little headway. The failure of the Bok plan should help them to understand why. They have tried to create the better educated public opinion on which their success depends for the most part by methods of oral or written propaganda in favor of some particular act or plan or by moral exhortation. But as long as they depend on these means, they come into competition with the vast river of business, political, religious and social propaganda which is steadily flooding American public opinion; and they simply cannot make an impression commensurate with the importance and the difficulties of the enterprise. Their means are not adapted to their end. If they would succeed they must begin further back. The only education which will qualify the ordinary American citizen to pass intelligently on questions of war and peace is one which improves his general moral and mental outlook. That is a kind of education which he rarely, if ever, gets. There are only a few agencies of adult education now in existence whose conductors conceive education as a discipline which arouses and satisfies in human beings a craving for general enlightenment and growth.

None of the large stems on which the American people cluster and which should act as conveyors of an educational leaven conceive the education of public opinion as anything except its indoctrination with specific preconceived ideas or plans. There was a time when the local party caucuses throughout the country were centres of an educational awakening and deliberation which helped the party member to become a more alert and progressive citizen. Such is no longer the case. These district groups

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of Republicans and Democrats have ceased to originate movements. They wait for orders. The local and the national party leaders are interested only in an obedient public opinion; and they discourage or mislead any ebullition of political intelligence which is not trade-marked and standardized. The Christian churches, the only other centres of organized coöperation with which a majority of the American people are actively associated, are almost as incapable of becoming centres of adult education as the local party caucuses. The vast mass of the American clergy are not qualified either by training, experience or point of view to inspire and lead groups of their fellow-townsmen who are beginning to feel the need of a leavening education. The clergy envisage Christian salvation as a boon which they, as the interpreters of the Holy Writ, are imparting to their flock from the pulpit. The education which they receive and hand down is limited to the realm of traditional ideas or habitual conduct and information or of activities which are determined by ideas. But such an education is too merely intellectual, too special, too paternal, too mechanical. It prepares its victims to be more or less intelligently prejudiced or credulous, but it actually disqualifies them from achieving the inveterately conscious fusion between feeling, action and thought which is the key to individual moral vision and self-possession.

A Leader's Mistake

FOUR years ago one of the most able leaders of American labor, a man who combined a record of remarkable achievement in organization with a daring imagination, earnestly set himself the task of strengthening the unions by internal reform. He espoused the amalgamation of trade unions into organizations covering entire industries, and independent political action—two measures which had long been advocated by the more creative unionists. Yet the unions have to date made little progress toward amalgamation. They have resisted, in spite of favorable circumstances, the trend toward party action. Many of the sound progressives have on general issues lined up with the ancient enemies of both projects, while William Z. Foster and his followers, so far as they have accomplished anything, seem merely to have created dissension, and have antagonized indispensable sections of the rank and file.

This failure was not written in the premises. Foster might have done better. His futility is a curious example of the seduction of a naturally fertile mind by a sterile absolutist philosophy.

At the beginning, his tactics seemed well chosen. He started with the assumption that the existing trade union movement was the lasting and historic expression of the wage-workers' aims. It contained, by implication, the germ of every gain in status which they might make. He blamed impatient radicals for attempting to split away from it and form new, perfectionist bodies; he blamed the intellectuals for criticizing its leaders and bringing it into disrepute with other progressive groups. We must, he said, build on what we have. Then he went on to explain that unionists themselves must understand the urgent need both for closer union on the industrial field and for political action. If they did not do so, labor would meet defeats on account of the growing power and resolution of reactionary employers. There must be, not a congeries of business organizations of labor, each following merely its narrow interest, but a self-conscious movement, informed by a public opinion of its own and following a large strategy.

Foster was conscious that there were difficulties in the way. At the top there were some labor bosses of narrow vision. At the bottom there was a slow moving and inchoate rank and file. Even with the best of will, development toward new forms of organization and method must be slow on account of the resistance of tradition and various technical difficulties. The louder advocates of amalgamation would naturally be among the weaker sections of the unions. But there must be a ferment which would gradually work through such obstacles. This ferment would be found in the active minority—the more intelligent lieutenants, sergeants, corporals and men in the ranks who carry on the unions' business in detail. If they could be brought together on a common program, and if the men who agreed with him would accept the work and responsibility of the unions, instead of withdrawing from union activity in despair as they had done in the past, progress would be made. In order to organize this ferment Foster planned the Trade Union Educational League and founded its organ, the Labor Herald. Members of the League were to remain within the existing organizations and do their work there. They were carefully to abstain from any activity which might give hostile officials an excuse for branding it a competing union and expelling its members.

Externally, this program has now been in operation for many months. But an element has been added to it which is foreign to the idea of strengthening the unions themselves. It has become known that Foster is a communist. The League has appeared as an entering wedge for communist propaganda, with all its trappings of inevitable class warfare and eventual proletarian dictatorship.

In order to understand the degenerative effect of this preconceived dogma, it is only necessary to hear Foster speak of his aims and methods now. He denounces impartially all who hold high offices in the unions, no matter how close they seem to be to his original tenets. He makes no bones about doing so to any audience, and in addition belittles the entire union movement and predicts its prompt disappearance if it will not forthwith accept his

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specifics. His attack is far more ruthless than that of the radicals or outsiders to which he used to object. He naïvely asserts that his immediate planks of amalgamation and political action are chiefly devices to lead labor along the road to his communist goal. He states not with sorrow but with positive glee that the rank and file, if it wants any progress at all, must follow the lead of his lieutenants, since all other progressive leaders have retired from the field. Such a hopeful extension of workers' participation as the plan of coöperation with a friendly management for public service now being developed on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad he denounces as "class collaboration" and as an attempt to draw a red herring across the trail of amalgamation. Such genuine efforts to organize a non-communist labor party as have arisen are, he hints, either gestures by the half-hearted or respectable fronts for communist agitation. His language is that of the preacher with a single creed of salvation; nothing has meaning to him which has not been baptized in the doctrine of class conflict. He ignores the technical obstacles to amalgamation which must be solved in detail, and speaks as if the reform could be brought about overnight by resolution. Though he gave promise of becoming an intelligent participant in the rich current of events, he seems to have regressed to a combination of one-track agitator and scheming intriguer for factional control.

The immediate results of this attitude are obvious. The extreme right finds all its prophecies fulfilled. It can oppose the most moderate reform on the ground that it is merely a mask for the plans of Russian communists either to capture or destroy the American Federation of Labor. It can expel dissenting minorities, not because of their specific proposals, but for their probable connection with communist disruptionists. Progressive officials are forced to abate efforts for reform in the mere endeavor to hold their organizations together as against extremist opposition. Foster has weakened those sections of the movement in which there was most hope, he has strengthened his worst enemies. He has split the unions of the needle trades into hostile groups, antagonized such solid progressives as John Fitzpatrick of Chicago, silenced the more intelligent minority leaders of the coal miners who were adherents of forward policies. It seems to be impossible to work for his immediate program without accepting leadership from the extreme left. In a word, he has subordinated trade-union progress to communism. This is even worse than to subordinate industrial unionism to the success of competing, dual unions —a policy which Foster has always valiantly denounced.

Anyone who believes that a communist revolution in the United States is inevitable, or is the only possible route to a better industrial order, can logically be pleased by this result. But such a belief, entirely aside from its validity, is destructive to the genius of trade unionism. Trade unions are necessarily experimental, must win through by the pragmatic method. In order to live and prosper, they cannot substitute ideas, hopes and ultimates for present realities. Such ideas and hopes as they may fruitfully entertain must be capable of translation into something less than absolute and final victory. Their lasting gains are made by the winning of a thousand minor objectives which, to be sure, lie along the main highroad but still offer refreshment here and now. They must compromise at least as often as they fight, they must win by persuasion as well as by power. To attempt to tie them rigidly to a predetermined schedule of preparation for catastrophic revolution, and to create a situation where all immediate steps must await the conscious acceptance of that program, is sheer impossibilism. Foster, by attacking all measures or leadership not associated with his program and faction, earns the same criticism which he has in the past so trenchantly directed against the Industrial Workers of the World— "the I. W. W. are absolutely against results."

There is no real necessity, however, for the imaginative leaders who comprehend more clearly the spirit of trade unionism to remain long immobilized by the unfortunate reaction of Foster's mistaken absolutism. Let them be as active and determined in seeking union growth as they are in repelling factional attacks, and the militant minority will soon turn to them and forget about him. Unless a revolutionary situation approaches, no large group can long be held together by the communists, but an effective following always awaits those who have something fruitful to propose. The opinion which Foster has already created in favor of amalgamation and independent political action can be captured by those who do not share his ultimate aim. If he attacks the leaders who espouse such causes but do not bow to his faction, he will have transferred to them the tactical advantage which he now states they have bestowed upon him. If he does not attack them, his real abilities will, happily have been harnessed again to the cause of genuine trade union progress.

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HERBERT CROLY, PRES. ROBERT HALLOWELL, TREAS.
DANIEL MEBANE, CIRCULATION MANAGER.

EDITORS

HERBERT CROLY BRUCE BLIVEN ROBERT LITTELL
ALVIN JOHNSON R. M. LOVETT STARK YOUNG

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JANE ADDAMS JOHN DEWEY R. H. TAWNEY
DAVID FRIDAY H. N. BRAILSFORD LEO WOLMAN

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The Railroad Shopmen's Plan

MANY employers, notably a number of railroad executives, maintain that it is impossible to combine good management and high production with recognition of trade unions.

Trade union leaders maintain, on the contrary, that union members are better workmen than non-union workers, and that union wages, hours, rules and practices do not interfere with true efficiency.

Advocates of good management maintain that sound methods benefit not only employers, but labor as well.

Yet not often has any of these three groups thought of doing anything more than act as if its theory were an established fact. There have been few properly applied tests, with sound engineering methods and observed results.

This was in the mind of William H. Johnston, President of the International Association of Machinists, when he announced publicly, long before the railroad shopmen's strike of 1922, that he was looking for a progressive employer with whom coöperation for better service would be possible, on the basis of sharing justly between the responsible parties any benefits that might result. Mr. Johnston believed that trade unions and productivity are not enemies. He was willing to believe that wage-earners might benefit from improved methods. He was so willing to believe it that he was eager to make an agreement to help install such methods in anticipation of the benefits. If any employer sincerely thought that the rewards of improved service would not go solely to owners and management, he ought to be willing to agree in advance to share such rewards with the workers. Mr. Johnston reasoned also that a voluntary organization of the wage-earners, having earned their loyalty over a long period, and holding in their hands an agreement of this sort, would be a far more potent stimulus to good workmanship than any amount of cajolery practised by employers or their agents on an unorganized mass of suspicious men.

His gesture was the first act of a significant extension of collective bargaining. Wage-earners have long bargained for what they wanted by coöperating to interrupt production and profits. Why not extend that method, in the case of friendly employers, from the negative to the positive scale? Why not bargain for what the wage-earners want by coöperating to further production and profit?

Several railroad executives were personally approached, and President Daniel Willard of the Baltimore and Ohio had already given favorable consideration to the proposal when the strike intervened. The possibility of trying the plan was one of the factors which prompted him to take the lead in conciliation and settlement of the strike. As soon as the immediate dislocations of the conflict had been removed, conferences were held to give concrete form to the proposed coöperation.

The first record of the idea was in the preamble to the new agreement between the Federated Shop Crafts and the railroad, which was suggested by the unions:

> The welfare of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and its employees is dependent on the service which the railroad renders the public. Improvements in this service and economy in operation and maintenance expenses result chiefly from willing coöperation between the railroad management and the voluntary organizations of its employees. When the groups responsible for better service and greater efficiency share fairly in the benefits which follow their joint efforts, improvements in the conduct of the railroad are greatly encouraged. The parties to this agreement recognize the foregoing principles and agree to be governed by them in their relations.

At the insistence of the railroad management, the Glenwood shop near Pittsburgh, a unit which had long been in turmoil, was chosen for the experiment, though the union would have preferred a less difficult start. Layoffs and shut-downs had been frequent in this plant. If the experiment could improve the quality and unit cost of the output, the railroad management could assign more work to Glenwood, increase the force employed there, and bring about greater stability of employment. Such measures would both benefit the men and reduce the overhead caused by the frequent shut-downs with their burden of idle equipment and labor turnover. Thus a concrete and practical objective was in view from the start.

The methods used were as unconventional as the inception of the program. An ordinary employer, wishing to increase productivity, hires experts and works out elaborate engineering plans which are then installed from above. There was, to be sure, a graduate engineer concerned in this project—Mr. O. S. Beyer, Jr.—but he was an employee, not of the management but of the union. His first step was not to develop a paper scheme, but to see that both the local management and the wage-earners understood the proposal. Not until it had been explained in every aspect and had received a vote of confidence from the men as well as from the executive forces was the first step taken. This step, in turn, was the installation of a regular bi-weekly conference between representatives of the management and the regularly constituted committeemen of the various local crafts. The meeting was for the purpose of considering improvements in the operation of the plant rather than grievances—though the committeemen were the same who handled grievances at other times. The fact that the ordinary union machinery was thus relied

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upon was of first importance. It allayed suspicion at once, and gave assurance that the experienced representatives of the men, those who were accustomed to remedying the evil results of friction, would be the ones entrusted with the duty of helping to eliminate the friction.

Mr. Beyer, as engineer, held the confidence of both parties and was enabled to know everything that was going on. But his job was not to tell them what to do. His job was to help them solve their own difficulties. If he could not leave a machinery capable of carrying on in his absence, he would have made little advance over the usual technique of management. The natural development of this method exhibited a profound logic often slurred over in more cut-and-dried plans. The joint committee began by dealing with certain personalities, on both sides of the fence, who had been a source of trouble. Some of these eliminated themselves. Others saw the futility of their previous behavior, got into harness and became among the most valuable contributors to the plan. Next, physical deficiencies of the plant were dealt with. Routes of carrying material were shortened and made easier. Good washrooms were installed. The men began to feel the result of coöperative planning in a dozen different ways related to the pleasantness of their daily work. From these simple beginnings the cleaning-up process went on to slightly more remote matters. It had previously been impossible to procure enough small tools in good condition, and this resulted in delay and discontent. The tool room was taken care of. Similar trouble had been experienced with repair materials, which resulted in "robbing" some locomotives to repair others. This situation was analyzed and a steady flow of adequate material provided. Soon the rebuilding and modernization of a locomotive was assigned to the shops, and everyone was kept informed of the progress made. "Engine 1003" became a symbol of the determination of the shop to do work in which it could take pride. Easily understood delay charts were prepared for the various jobs in the works, and were prominently displayed. Then records of gang performance were charted in such a way that progress could be visualized and each part of the force could match its record against that of others and against a schedule. Thus, step by step, and through the impulse of the men themselves, difficulties were obviated, morale was improved, and long strides toward good management taken.

It is important to note that in order to bring about these improvements not a single union rule was abandoned, and the men were still paid by the hour rather than according to any method of "payment by results" which varies the wages of the individual according to productivity. If the time should ever come when the men, of their own accord, should see the necessity of modifying a union practice in the pursuit of their goal, a foundation will have been laid so that it may be done with general understanding and consent.

A plan of this sort should not be expected to bring about immediate results. There is nothing magic about it, but if given time it ought to make more durable contributions than one for which management alone is responsible. Yet tangible results have already been achieved. A high rate of labor turnover has been appreciably reduced, fuller and more regular operation has been made possible. In April and May, before the plan was working, the monthly materials shop expense per employee was $15.08; the monthly average from June to December was $7.43. The average man-hours per unit of output on shop orders for a staple article like jacks fell from 1.66 in April to 1.13 in September. Average delays per week behind the schedule so improved that the record of October in this respect was 63 percent better than that of April. The average length of time that locomotives have remained in the shop—the figures being properly weighted according to the class of repair—fell from sixty days in March to twenty-one in October. An over-all performance rating, expressed as an index of average units of work per man-hour, rose from 100 in June, 1922, when a special drive for production was made under the old régime, to 113 in September, 1923. Finally, and most important of all, a questionnaire sent to those on the road who had occasion to observe the performance of the work turned out by the shop evoked unanimous testimony to the improvement and high quality of the repairs.

Good shop work must have been at least partially responsible for the remarkable record of the road during the past year. Between December, 1922, and December, 1923, the percentage of freight locomotives unserviceable was reduced from 22.4 to 15.4, and that of freight cars from 9.2 to 5.9. This improvement occurred during the heaviest traffic of history—net ton-miles of the road having been 39 percent larger in 1923 than in 1922. The excellent condition of the serviceable equipment is indicated by the fact that car-miles per car-day (the average number of miles travelled per day by the average car in use) increased from 20.8 in 1922 to 29.3 in 1923. Yet in spite of the volume of shop work to which the above record testifies, its cost was kept down sufficiently so that the net operating income of the road was 77.5 percent larger in 1923 than in 1922, and was even 62.7 percent larger than the "standard return"—the rental paid during government control, calculated on the basis of the return for three pre-war years.

The excellence of this record is brought out vividly if one compares it with that of the Pennsylvania, a larger and financially stronger road, which runs through much the same territory and operates non-union shops. The improvement in percentage of unserviceable locomotives and cars

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on the Pennsylvania was slightly less than on the Baltimore and Ohio. Yet its traffic increased only 22 percent—a little over half the traffic increase of its rival. Although in 1922 its serviceable equipment did almost as well as that of the B. and O.—19.8 car-miles per car-day against 20.8—in 1923 it was left far behind with 23.4 car-miles against 29.3. And the expense of the improvement it made was so great that its net operating income—in spite of the growth of traffic—increased only 13.6 percent over 1922 and only 3 percent over the "standard return."

The plan of coöperation for service has passed through its trial period successfully. The men like it and have produced results. There is no question that the railroad and the public have benefited. But a period of danger is at hand. The benefits to the men have, so far, not equalled the benefits to the railroad. W. Z. Foster and the radicals of the left, without the slightest appreciation of the immense potentialities of the plan, are viciously attacking it as "class collaboration" which benefits the profit-makers to the detriment of the worker. In spite of their blindness, they will be partly right and will begin to carry conviction to the rank and file unless the management brings its share of the undertaking to a logical conclusion. Much has been done in one plant, but something more is necessary. The unions are urging the management to go ahead with the creation of a maintenance reserve which may be used for repair work during a seasonal or other slack period and so stabilize production and employment, and with extension of coöperation to other parts of the system. The management has taken the first steps toward such broader measures. During the next few months what will be on trial on the Baltimore and Ohio will not be so much the union's as the private employer's capacity to coöperate for service.

GEORGE SOULE.

The Irony of the Harding Cabinet

REVENGE is nowhere more useless than in politics; nowhere does it butter so few parsnips. But the Democratic party is enjoying in these days a certain revenge upon the Republicans, who swept over them with that seven millions plurality in 1920, that is really important. The Democrats' revenge is not important because there is any assurance that it will yield them profit and gain; it is important because it is found in one of the deadliest, most searching ironies in the whole annals of American public affairs—an irony that will burn for years to come.

When Mr. Harding was nominated for President in 1920, there was scarcely a thoughtful man to be found who honestly believed he was equipped for that office, especially in consideration of the incredibly difficult problems before the country at home and abroad. The nomination of Harding and Cox, following an eight-year period in which the public had become accustomed to Wilsons, Roosevelts, Tafts and Hughes' created a sentiment among intelligent people that was admirably expressed on the night of the election by a rugged and intensely patriotic old financier. Told that Mr. Harding had swept the country, he clapped his jaws together and said grimly: "I say what I have said from the beginning: Thank God only one of them could be elected."

The campaign caused some people—not very many as the returns showed—to believe that Mr. Cox was a man of more resolution and force than had been thought. But in so far as Mr. Harding made a popular appeal on his own account, it was because of the belief that he was not a man of resolution and force. That may seem an extravagant statement. But it is true. Mr. Harding constantly pictured himself as a man uncertain in his own mind and seeking guidance. He did so partly because he was a modest man and sincerely sought to avoid trying to appear what he was not; and partly because, as a skilled politician, he had become convinced that the country, in its bitterly critical attitude toward Mr. Wilson's strongheadedness, was in the mood to take to its bosom the exactly opposite type.

But even while the people, for a thousand different reasons, were making up their minds to vote for Harding, and even while, in their antagonism to Wilson, they were applauding his diffuseness of thought, their common sense told them unerringly that somewhere in the Harding administration there must be power and force. They answered the questionings of their common sense by replying that " 'they' would keep him on the right track." And "they," reduced to concrete terms, usually turned out to be the Cabinet.

There was to be a great Cabinet. Harding, the modest, was the kind of man who would gather about him a great Cabinet. It was the easier to think of a great Cabinet being all sufficient, gathered around a modest, advice-taking President, because it had become the fashion to attribute all the sins charged against the Wilson administration to the "yes" Cabinet which Mr. Wilson insisted upon having. So strong was this idea of a great Harding Cabinet that it persisted undiminished after the beginning of the Harding administration, when the cause of disillusionment should have been patent to every man of normal temperature. Highly seasoned and honest observers spoke of the Cabinet sessions as the ablest counsels on earth.

Is it necessary to be more specific in revealing

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the irony that brings the Democrats' revenge? Is not this bare statement of what many thousands felt and said a brief three years ago sufficient? Thirty percent—three in ten—of the great Cabinet that was to be, lives in the shadows. One is in utter disgrace; one, perhaps the most lovable of the ten, goes out with a heart wellnigh broken, after the members of his own party in the Senate have joined with the opposition in a vote that stamped him grossly incompetent; and one hangs on to his seat in the Cabinet, in defiance of the ancient amenities of official life, after the leaders in the Senate of his own party have told the President that he should be jettisoned for the sake of the party, and after all Washington has become convinced that the President has done everything short of issuing an order of summary dismissal. But that is not all of the irony. There is the other seventy percent of the great Cabinet that was to be.

Does anyone believe today that Mr. Hughes is a great Secretary of State? There are ten believing that he is a very great lawyer occupying the office of Secretary of State to each of the most casual observers who think him a great official. He has one achievement to his credit. That is the conduct of, not the creation of, the Arms Conference. Apart from that, he has been the lawyer arguing facts, rather than the statesman shaping them. Mr. Hoover has been a great Secretary of Commerce, but to say that a man is a great Secretary of Commerce is like saying that he is a big five-footer. Mr. Hoover did not take office to be Secretary of Commerce; he took it to be a Cabinet adviser, a maker of national and international politics. What is there to show? The truth is that Herbert Hoover is another of our tragedies. Out of office, as a scientifically-minded and generously molded conservative he might have remained a power, probably would have. In office, a part of a feeble administration, constantly compelled to compromise, constantly subordinating ideas to loyalties, he is but a shadow of his old figure.

From Hughes and Hoover there is the drop to Secretary Mellon, so disastrously defeated in his effort to write a new tax system that Nicholas Longworth described conditions to him by reciting a bit of doggerel that concluded with Mary's lamb (fleece as white as snow) following her to Pittsburgh, "and now look at the damned thing." Then there is the patient, solid Weeks, aghast at the miscarriage of his dream of a golden era of conservatism, and worried over the Philippines. And from Weeks there is the final drop to such agreeable, kindly, commonplaces in office as New, Wallace and Davis—the departure from office of any one of them being a one-day news story, if and when departure comes.

Here is the importance, here is the true value, of this terrific irony of the great Harding Cabinet: In our day, at least, it never will be possible again to elect a President of the United States on the theory that a man untrained and unequipped, however devoted and well-intentioned, may be a great President in results through the simple process of finding other men who will tell him what to think, and to say, and to do. It will never be possible again, while the political memory of this generation survives, to advance the naïve proposition that a man of plainly limited abilities will, because of the very fact of those limited abilities, possess in superlative degree the gift of selection of great men, and therefore will become vicariously a great leader and a great executive. Such justification for a faltering man as swept over the country in 1920 will meet, in the years to come, a devastating burst of burlesque theatre laughter.

Imagine Coolidge in this year's campaign. The one thing that he certainly will not ever mention is his Cabinet. The one thing that he certainly will be afraid to offer as a recommendation for the job he seeks is the Cabinet that he will appoint. If he is nominated, it will not be because of the Cabinet that sits with him, but in spite of it. If he is elected, it will not be because of any Cabinet that will sit with him. It will be because of one or both of two circumstances: the weakness of his opponents, and popular belief that he has the stature for the office. The one thing that has saved him thus far in popular valuation, while the oil scandal has raged, has been the feeling that he has been single-handedly cutting his own way through —a feeling that, by the way, is weakening as the country contemplates his delay in making a forthright decision, after the Wilson and Roosevelt fashion, on Daugherty, to keep him or to kick him out headfirst. The country would have had more faith in Mr. Coolidge had he been a boss in dealing with Daugherty, either a protecting boss or a firing boss.

And this insistence of the future that candidates for President stand on their own feet may well prove a valuable by-product of the oil scandal and the other troubles of the Harding-Coolidge administration. It is no small gain if the masses of this country can be made to understand what men who have observed American political institutions have seen more and more clearly for years past; that is, that the unescapable logic of the facts of our political institutions have shifted the affirmative agency in government from the legislative to the executive; and that in so doing there has been created an inexorable necessity for men who are able to make large decisions on their own account, who possess the power of leadership, and who see in their advisers lieutenants and not fairy godfathers.

It was six years before the country turned on Wilson, the iron-willed autocrat and his "yes" Cabinet, although Wilson entered office a minority President with a party behind him habituated to defeat. It was only about six months before the

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country turned on Harding, the mellow-minded, and his "great" Cabinet, although Harding entered office with the greatest majority in American history, and with a party behind him that conceived itself to be the governing party of the land. There is a truth buried between these two facts that the American people may learn to their great profit.

JOHN W. OWENS.

The Prospects of Gold

SIR HENRY STRAKOSCH, Chairman of the Financial Committee of the League of Nations in the course of some comments on my article, Gold in 1923, writes as follows:

"America has so far refused—for reasons of her own—to accept from her foreign debtors payment either in goods, services, or securities. She has accepted gold from them, and in doing so has secured a free option to acquire goods, services, and securities in exchange for the gold whenever it happens to suit her."

This passage, which is representative of a widely held opinion, can serve as my text in a further attempt to make clear why I differ from it.

I hold that gold flows to America because America offers in return for it a greater value in commodities than the gold is worth to the rest of the world. Gold is freely offered for sale in London every week; America is open to buy unlimited quantities of it at an almost fixed price in terms of goods (since her price-level has remained admirably stable for two and a half years); whilst the amount which the rest of the world wants on these terms falls far short of the current output. So long as these conditions continue, nothing on earth can prevent gold from flowing to the United States. She does not refuse to accept payment in other forms. She merely rates this particular form of payment at a higher value than the rest of the world does, with the result that it is profitable for the rest of the world to pay in this form rather than in any other.

It is not true, therefore, that she "has secured a free option to acquire goods, services, and securities in exchange for the gold whenever it happens to suit her," if this means "getting as much goods for the gold as she originally gave for it." She can only get rid of the gold by selling it at a sacrifice,—that is to say, by lowering its price in terms of goods.

This she can do in two ways only:

1. By inflation, thus raising the dollar-prices of goods and, which is the same thing, lowering the commodity-price of gold in the United States; or

2. By closing her mints to the reception of further gold, thus allowing a fall in the value of gold without involving a corresponding fall in the value of the dollar.

As regards the first way, one trembles to think how much inflation would be required to enable America to get rid of an important proportion of her gold;—something so terrific, I should say, that this expedient may be ruled out of practical politics. Quite likely she will inflate; but not enough, I should anticipate, to lose any large quantity of her gold. Probably, therefore, America is stuck with what she has already got for all eternity, unless she is prepared to clear it at a great sacrifice. Thus her choice really lies between a continuance of the present state of affairs with gold steadily flowing in, more in some years, less in others, and occasionally perhaps a small outflow, or closing her mints as above. I suggested in my original article, Gold in 1923, that in course of time the United States might tire of carrying the ever-growing weight of the Golden Calf, with its vast and vain expense.

A third way out could only come through the rest of the world *raising* its relative valuation of gold. Some people think that a general restoration of the gold standard might bring this about. I agree that such might be the case to a certain extent. But even in this event the rest of the world would not want much more gold than it has already, or relieve the United States more than slightly. The more solvent countries of Europe, for example, Great Britain, France, Sweden, Spain, and Holland, already have enough gold to run a gold standard, if the other conditions were present necessary for the restoration of such a standard; whilst the less solvent, for example, Germany, Russia, Hungary, could not afford for many years to accumulate large stocks of barren metal.

It is commonly believed that the United States could relieve herself of her redundant gold if her investors would become more willing to lend abroad and to purchase foreign investments. This is a delusion,—unless the new foreign loans were of a purely inflationary character. If Americans were to invest their savings abroad instead of at home, there is no reason why this should cause any drain of gold out of America, any more than in the case of other countries which have invested abroad. If foreign investment always involved a drain of gold, it would have to be confined to gold-producing countries. A drain of gold would only follow if America's foreign loans did not represent real savings and involved an internal inflation; which brings us back to where we started, namely that America can only get rid of this gold by depreciating the dollar through inflation.

The United States has, in fact, embarked on a vast valorization scheme for the commodity gold,

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just like other valorization schemes, for example, that of Brazil for the commodity coffee;—but with much less prospect of the world demand overtaking the world supply. The value of gold depends upon the United States being willing to continue this valorization scheme year after year, regardless of cost. It is for this reason, amongst others, that I declare the future prospects of gold to be precarious; particularly the prospects of gold mined outside the United States. The United States has no sufficient interest in spending $250,000,000 or more each year to absorb the redundant world supplies of a commodity she does not want. For a time she may continue,—partly because "metallist" superstitions cloud men's eyes where the sacred metal is concerned, partly from the argument of "protecting" the value of the existing stock, the usual argument when top-heavy valorization schemes are getting too expensive; but, surely, not for ever.

There is a further question, just touched on in my previous article—namely, the effect of a fall in the commodity-value of gold on the position of creditor countries. I do not think that currency policy ought to be determined, one way or the other, by such considerations; for the point arises with every change in the price-level, whatever the cause or the direction of the change may be. But I agree that, when the calculation is made, there are several items to be reckoned on both sides of the account. Nevertheless, this question does not arise, except where foreign loans have been expressly contracted in terms of gold. The United States, it is true, both owes and is owed certain sums in gold. It is not the case with Great Britain. Her loans are in terms of sterling, not of gold; and during the ten years which have elapsed since she was on a gold standard, no suggestion to the contrary has ever arisen. If, indeed, Great Britain was proposing to raise the commodity-value of sterling, her creditors might have a grievance in equity; but this is not the intention. If the commodity-value of sterling were to be stabilized near the present level, her debtors would still be repaying her in a currency much less valuable than that in which the debt was originally contracted; and since they pay in goods and services, this is what matters to them. If, however, it were thought necessary for this or any other reason, to protect the value of gold by artificial means, it would be much cheaper to buy up the South African mines in order to close them down, rather than to buy up their output year by year in order to bury it. The United States could buy all the mines in Africa and cement them down securely for about twice the sum which they now expend in a single year in purchasing and burying their output. I recommend this program to the devotees of the gold standard.

JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES.

[*This article is a continuation of Mr. Keynes's Gold in 1923, published in the New Republic of February 27.*]

Nobody Loves a Bear

WHEN a great money magnate, who has loomed for the humble rabble of petty speculators like an Atlas, sustaining the heavens of the stock quotations on his broad shoulders, suddenly goes short and bears the market with all his colossal weight, a universal groaning and gnashing of teeth rises toward the leaden skies. Demon, thrice damned, you have blasted my hopes, you have annihilated my fortunes. I must fare forth, naked and shivering, so that you may gloat in your sense of power and add to your ill-gotten accumulations the cloak and the coat and the shirt too stripped from my back. If a pick-pocket had taken from me my old watch, which does not keep time, I could have clapped him behind steel bars to rot in his wickedness. For you there is no law, though you have openly snatched away the provision for my old age, my daughter's dowry and the viaticum with which I was setting my son out on his life journey. Alas and alack, that the misty winds of rationalism should have blown out the fires of Hell now when most we need them.

An accursed figure, the bear on the stock market. Equally baneful in the popular esteem, is the bear in ideas and ideals. Men with long memories will recall the buoyant state of spiritual affairs in the America of the late eighties. We had got over the brutal passion and the devouring greed of the post war period and were investing heavily in charity and evangelization. Appeared Bob Ingersoll, ruthlessly selling short every sacred value on the list. What the elders thought of him is recorded in blistering sermons still accessible. At least there was another world for him. We youngsters, departing from our elders in taste but not in spirit, sang lustily:

> O, won't he scream and yell
> When they yank him down to —
> Climbing up the Golden Stairs.

In those days the spiritual bear was a "sceptic." There was, in the Fifth Reader from which I recited in school, a poem on The Evil Influence of Scepticism whose final imprecation I remember still.

> Ah me, the laurel wreath that Murder rears
> Blood nursed, and watered with the widow's tears,

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Is not so foul, so tainted nor so dread
As waves the nightshade round the sceptic's head.

Today it is primarily political values that are subject to the manipulations of the bears. Say that your country is at war. It will win, you believe. If you and your fellow patriots had not expected victory you would never have gone in for war. Your armies press forward through a smoking land; it is a glorious victory. They fall back precipitately; it is a strategic retreat. How do you feel about the bearish fellow who insists that the "strategic retreat" is the result of a battle lost, and that a few more such retreats will mean utter ruin? A German comic journal published, in the midst of the war, a cartoon representing a mob tearing a poor devil limb from limb.

"What's that? A spy?"
"No. A pessimist."

Most of us believed that our late adventure in Europe was part of a "war to end war," a "war to make the world safe for democracy." Who has forgotten his hatred for the lean, bilious fellows who went about sneering, "Bunk, propaganda?" Have we yet stopped hating them, though the war to end war happened instead to end peace, and the war to make the world safe for democracy happened to make it safe instead for the Mussolinis, Horthys, the White and the Red dictators?

How does it come that in its aeons of development this best of all possible worlds has not succeeded in extirpating the bear? It must be that he is needed. Let us force ourselves to look at his functions dispassionately for a moment. Just how should we fare if there were no bears, on exchange or in life?

On exchange the case is simple. Let us say that a new hundred million dollar corporation is being promoted, the Consolidated Canals, Rivers and Motor Turnpike Corporation. What do you and I, rank outsiders, know about its possible earnings? It may be able to pay dividends of twenty percent, or it may never be able to pay anything. There are big names at the head of its prospectus. It has exclusive rights to the Mississippi, Father of Waters. It has turnpike franchises by the sheaf, and this is the motor age. The stock may be had at 50; ridiculously low, in the opinion of the man you rode in with on the suburban train. You buy a little; next day it is 52. Four percent a day; it makes you dream. You buy more; ten thousand of your kind do the same and the stock goes to 60. Is there any reason it shouldn't go to 500, whatever the actual merits of the company?

There is no reason whatever, in a world from which the bear is excluded. At the time of the Mississippi Bubble short selling was unknown; therefore the shares in the concern, which had huge liabilities and no assets except a worthless royal promise of a trade monopoly, soared to dizzy heights, all Paris clinging to its guy ropes. The bubble was pricked and all Paris came down without help of parachutes. The Dutch tulip speculators had a similar experience. In our own time, where is the small speculator most cruelly plucked? In surburban lots, where short selling is excluded by the nature of the material, and in oil companies too small or too fugitive to float shares on the open market.

On the Stock Exchange a security may be selling today at a price too high to be maintained, but if it is much too high the bears will soon be climbing on, paw over paw. They are no more desirous of fixing the price at a fair level than the bulls are, but whatever their motives, their action works to hold the prices where the mere outsiders, like you and me, knowing nothing about a stock or that little which is worth so much less than nothing may still buy for investment without being skinned.

We may recall the early days of the depreciation of the mark. Who among us outsiders had the remotest notion of the desperate state in which the Peace of Versailles left German finances? The bonds of the German Empire, of Berlin and Frankfort, Hamburg and Stuttgart were offered at tempting prices; why not invest, seeing that Germany was now whitewashed with republican lime? The bears fell upon those securities and did such havoc that most small investors fled, dragging their purses behind them. Look at the franc now. Might it not still be standing at ten cents, in spite of a national financial policy governed by the rule, "After us, the deluge," if the bears had not been ceaselessly clawing away at it? And with the franc at ten cents, the French government would be pushing the body of small investors farther and farther out into the quaking bog.

There is small question about the usefulness of the bear on exchange. Is he needed anywhere else? Place yourself inside of the German lines in late 1916. It was then plain to the far-sighted that Germany could not win a conclusive victory, and that the sooner peace was negotiated the better for the country. What Germany desperately needed was a whole division of bears, to take the wind out of the victory propaganda. The bears, unfortunately for Germany, were not permitted to show their muzzles. And we—might we not have profited by a larger bear contingent when we were making up our minds to go crusading for peace and democracy? A crusader needs his eyes kept open, even if it is not so restful.

In the world of finance the bear is essential to the maintenance of sanity; in the world of ideas he is essential to the maintenance of truth. Truth and sanity: these are not lovely objects, whatever the homilists may say. A touch of insanity and a mounting imagination come nearer to the human heart. In this sad old world, however, we must live also by our heads and tolerate even the unlovely when there is reason in it.

ALVIN JOHNSON.

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Poems by Carl Sandburg

St. Joe: The Big Muddy: Jesse James

In Jesse James' last home town they have Fried Catfish on the restaurant bill of fare.
And the Missouri, the Big Muddy River, has the curve of a locomotive fireman's scoop shovel.
The editor of the morning paper said, "We go into four states and keep track of the politics in all four—except Kansas"—
"Nobody can follow politics in Kansas and do anything else," said the editor—
"Kansas," he said with an inexplicable tantalization in his voice, "Kansas is always shifting—nobody knows what Kansas is going to do."

. . .

The Big Muddy comes with a handle, curves with a sickle, among the rain-worn bluffs of St. Joe.
The killing gangs go to work in the morning on beef, bacon, mutton—and go home at night to smoky lumber houses reading newspapers stories about how many cocaine peddlers the government caught today.

. . .

The frame house on the clay hill overlooking the Missouri River valley, is a drab cottage.
It isn't much of a house as houses go, yet it satisfied a train robber, a bank bandit, to pick a place like this to live while an army of sheriffs and detectives hunted his scalp "dead or alive."
Maybe it was the scenery, the big muddy river laying paths for sunlight and moonlight, the march of the rain going up and down the water-crossed bluffs, the hollow washes, the places calling to a man on horseback to ride, shoot, slip away—maybe.

The bronze plate on the front door post says "Jesse James' House"—two new high schools are a block away—the old lumber house and the bronze name plate are goners nobody wipes or cleans—the two high schools are spick and span, believe us—and the young people go in through the doors and listen to how their years ought to go.
Jesse James? They say, "He was a rider and a crack shot, he robbed only railroads and banks, he was good to the poor, and over Missouri and Kansas ten thousand friends were ready to hide him and keep him."
Jesse James? They say, "He was a thief and an outlaw, a liar and a bad actor, a crook, he killed in cold blood, and showed young men the road to crime."

"They tell me Jesse James was a game bird," said a stranger in front of the house with the bronze name plate.
"He was," came the St. Joe citizen's reply, "He was—till they clipped his wings."

Take the song line: "He came of a solitary race."
Maybe it was the scenery, a valley for rain and horses to ride.
He came to this hilltop—somehow—he liked high places.

Hemstitches

April is near, the feel of the breath
of April is near, coming with a packsack of whimsies,
(They tell me all winter April hides
and hemstitches—and now—now April
is going to pick loose the hemstitches.)
On the fields a low crying comes with
a low laughing—a bluebird goes on the
Kaw Valley and a red wing goes on the Kaw Valley.
And a bluebird mate goes.
And a redwing mate goes.

Frog Spring Songs

The silver burbles of the frogs wind and swirl.
The lines of their prongs swing up in a spray.
They cut the air with bird line curves.
The eye sees nothing, the ear is filled, the head remembers
The beat of the swirl of frog throat silver prongs
In the early springtime when eggs open, when feet learn,
When the crying of the water begins a new year.

Striped Cats, Old Men and Proud Stockings

1.

Ride a black horse with tan feet.
Let him have splashes of white,
Peninsulas of milk white.
Ride him then with a bridle in your left hand and a hawk sitting on your right wrist.
Wear a yellow dress and an orange bandanna tied over your forehead.
So should a proud woman ride a proud horse.
So should a woman ride to a horse show, a bird show,
To a public procession, to a secret wedding,
To a crying menagerie of proud striped cats.

2.

The old men who sit cross-legged in Hindustan
Naming the wedding days, the hungry days, the work days,
Handling their whiskers softly where the cascades
Come down numbering the years and the facts—
The old men look better close to the earth, cross-legged,
Pegged near the dirt, the home of the roots,
The home of years, facts.

3.

They have chosen stockings to cover their legs
By a feeling for choices fine as air.
The appeal of stripes came to this one,
And spots, diamonds, clocks, anchors, to others,
The feeling for these choices was airy, fine,
Born of the deliberation of childbirths,
Thrust out with decision on the ends of their tongues.
If a black horse wishes white sox
Or a white horse calls for tan footwear
Or an ankle covering of pigeon blue gray—
It is a balance born of deliberations, childbirths.

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CORRESPONDENCE

"Is France Going Bankrupt?"

SIR: I am glad to comment, at your request, on the article by John F. Sinclair, Is France Going Bankrupt? in your issue of January 9.

In paragraph two of Mr. Sinclair's article are these sentences: "From 1871 to 1914 the French public debt increased from 13,000,000,000 to 31,000,000,000 francs and, of an increase in revenue of 1,286,000,000 francs, seventy-one percent was absorbed by increased charges on the debt. The record of France is the record of a country afraid to face the real test of financial and economic sovereignty." I take it that Mr. Sinclair means to imply that the increase in the French debt between 1871 and 1914 was due to a steady succession of budgetary deficits totalling about 18,000,000,000 francs. If this is the case then the implication is without foundation in fact. The war of 1870-71 added nearly 9,000,000,000 francs, of which about 8,000,000,000 (vide Léon Say) represents the cost to France of the indemnity exacted by Germany, to the French debt. Furthermore, in the period mentioned (1871-1914) the French government expended on capital account about 6,000,000,000 francs (purchase of two railways by the state, construction of ports and waterways, installation of telephone system and extension of telegraphic system, construction of seven new "Routes Nationales"). An additional 1,200,000,000 francs was expended by the government for the construction of railways and ports in Algeria. It thus appears that the increase in debt attributable to budget deficits does not even approximate 18,000,000,000 francs.

Passing over several paragraphs of Mr. Sinclair's opinions, I come to the statement that France in its four and one half years of war raised in war taxes "the pitiful sum of $21,000,000." I do not know by what process of reasoning or arithmetic this sum was arrived at. Mr. Sinclair, for instance, neglects to state at what rate he converted franc figures (gold or paper?) into dollars. I do know, however, that in the years 1916, 1917 and 1918 the French government collected a total of 1,459,000,000 francs on account of the excess war profits tax, and that if the separate payments in each year be converted into gold dollars of the present value, on the basis of the actual gold value of the franc in each of the years in question, taking also into account the real loss in value suffered by the gold dollar, the sum paid in the three years mentioned amounts to roughly $149,000,000. Furthermore, collections on acount of the excess war profits tax have not yet ceased although the incidence ceased in 1920. To the end of 1922 the tax had brought the French treasury over 10,000,000,000 francs paper, which, if converted into dollars of the present value at the low average rate of five cents per franc, equals $500,000,000. Other similar taxes might be cited, but I need not insist.

In the next paragraph the statement is found that the public debt increased from $6,652,000,000 on July 31, 1914, to $28,702,000,000 on January 1, 1919, and, "based on par exchange," to $53,000,000,000 July 1, 1920, and now to approximately $60,000,000,000. Comparison is then made of these "fantastic" figures with the total wealth of France in 1913 estimated at from $58,000,000,000 to $80,000,000,000. These figures are truly fantastic, owing to the fact that Mr. Sinclair uses gold dollars and paper francs as though they were interchangeable. He would apparently have one believe that the debt incurred between July 31, 1914, and January 1, 1919, was a debt in gold dollars of the 1914 value. This, of course, is not the case. There was depreciation of, at the very least, sixty percent in the internal value of the franc between the dates mentioned, a factor which should be applied to the 1919 figure given above. The same is true of the figures of bank note circulation given in the same paragraph. By continuing to figure the French debt in terms of gold dollars of the 1914 value, Mr. Sinclair reaches his figure of $60,000,000,000 as the present total. Since he has neglected to give the franc figures on the various dates mentioned, it is impossible accurately to check his dollar figures. However, the actual debt figures, on the dates mentioned, as published by the French Ministry of Finance, are as follows:

FRENCH PUBLIC DEBT
(in millions of francs)

	Internal	*External* (Gold)
July 31, 1914	34,188 (gold)	
December 31, 1918	143,963 (paper)	27,390
June 30, 1920	204,406 (paper)	34,296
December 31, 1922	250,084 (paper)	35,445

In the above table external debt is figured at par of exchange, in order that the true measure of its increase may be determined.

There has been no official statement as to the amount of the debt at the present time. It is known, however, that there has been little change in the external debt during the year and internal borrowing has been under 15,000,000,000 francs. We may say, therefore, that, in round figures, the external debt is in the neighborhood of 35,500,000,000 gold francs, of which 32,300,000,000 is due to the British and American governments, and the internal debt is in the neighborhood of 265,000,000,000 francs paper. No one in France assumes that this internal debt is to be repaid in gold francs or that interest on it is to be paid in gold francs. To make such an assumption presupposes that a Frenchman who had loaned the government a franc worth anywhere from five cents to fifteen cents gold, expected to receive interest on it in francs worth nineteen cents gold. Taking the bulk of the internal debt of France at the average rate of exchange over the period of its contraction (the presumable rate at which interest will be paid on it), about nine cents, it is the equivalent of about 24,000,000,000 dollars of the present value. Add to this the foreign debt at par of exchange, $7,000,000,000, $6,400,000,000 of which represents no present burden on the French budget, and the total obtained is $31,000,000,000.

To compare the present French public debt with the 1913 estimates of the national wealth of France, a further adjustment is necessary, owing to the depreciation in the value of the gold dollar. Since commodity prices, expressed in gold, are roughly 150 percent today of their 1913 level, it follows that the gold dollar today has a purchasing power only two thirds that of 1913. Consequently, the present French public debt represents a burden of less than $21,000,000,000, 1913 value, compared with the estimate of $60,000,000,000 for the national wealth of France. Furthermore, since eighty-five percent of the devastated regions has been completely reconstructed, the return to France of Alsace-Lorraine more than compensates for the loss of interest on foreign investments suffered by her.

Mr. Sinclair makes the statement that France has increased her bank note circulation since January 1, 1919, from $8,400,000,000 at par exchange to approximately $9,000,000,000. Leaving aside the question of whether it is correct or not to express these figures in dollars at par exchange, his figures are wrong as stated. The bank note circulation of the Bank of France on December 24, 1918, amounted to 30,250,000,000 francs; on December 27, 1923, the official figure was 37,905,000,000 francs.

In the next paragraph the statement is made that France is spending for 1923 about 45,000,000,000 and raising only about 22,000,000,000 francs in revenue. The figure for revenue is approximately correct; that for expenditure is incorrect. The total of the two French budgets for 1923, including supplementary credits, is slightly over 37,000,000,000 francs. Military expenditures of all sorts, including supplementary credits, armies of occupation, etc., are included in the budget at about 5,000,000,000 francs, or, at six cents to the franc, the approximate average exchange rate for the year, $300,000,000, a figure which does not compare unfavorably with expenditures on similar account of Great Britain and the United States.

Another assertion of Mr. Sinclair's which is unfounded is that France is selling tax-exempt bonds. French government bonds are only partially tax-exempt, being exempt under that section of the French income tax known as the Classified Tax on Incomes but not under that section known as the General Tax on Incomes. As an example, consider a person with an income, after deductions of the usual nature, for children, dependents, etc., of 200,000 francs, one-half derived from invest-

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ments in government stock and one-half from industrial securities. A tax of nearly thirteen percent would have to be paid on the total income, and, in addition, a tax of eight percent on the 100,000 francs income derived from the industrial investment. A further example—a person with a net income of 1,000,000 francs, entirely derived from interest on government securities, has to pay an income tax of 396,080 francs, or nearly forty percent. Such securities can, therefore, hardly be termed tax-exempt.

Mr. Sinclair's understanding of the facts in connection with reconstruction of northern France is typical of his entire article. He says "the reconstruction of northern France must be completed, and, acording to French estimates which are disputed by American engineers, it *will* (italics are mine) take about 100,000,000,000 paper francs to do it." The truth of the matter is that acording to the most carefully prepared estimates of the French Ministry of Reconstruction, the government remains obligated to pay only 24,000,000,000 francs on war damage claims for capital reconstruction expenses.

May I state in conclusion that the statistics and data quoted by me in this letter have invariably been taken from documents of a public nature, and that they are verifiable at any good public library by those who are willing to make the necessary effort.

Permit me, Sir, to make use of this occasion to assure you of my highest consideration.

J. A. M. DE SANCHEZ.

New York City.

[It was not stated in Mr. Sinclair's article that the increase in the French debt from 1871 to 1914 was due to a steady succession of ordinary budgetary deficits. There is little profit in juggling with so artificial a category as the French budget, with its ordinary and extraordinary and special sources of confusion. A budget intended to keep the country on a sound foundation would have made provision for the sinking of the indemnity of 1871, as well as for "capital expenditures" many of which are no more productive than our Rivers and Harbors appropriations.

The figure of $21,000,000 for war taxes comes from E. M. Friedman's work International Finance and its Reorganization, and is arrived at by deducting the tax revenues of France for the war period from the tax revenues that would have accrued in peace on the basis of the last prewar year.

Mr. de Sanchez considers it absurd to calculate the sum of the debt at par of exchange. The French government does not so consider it, and officially stands still for the restoration of the franc to par. Mr. de Sanchez calculates the total debt on the basis of nine cents the franc. This implies "devaluation," in effect partial repudiation of the debt. Even more favorable and realistic results might have been had by putting the franc at five cents.

In making the total French budget of expenditures for 1923 37,000,000,000 Mr. de Sanchez disregards the item of interest on the foreign debts to America and England. It may be that neither the interest nor the principal of these debts will ever be paid. Until they have been cancelled by international agreement, however, they are a good debt and a country financially sound would make provision in its budget for at least the interest on them.

Some of Mr. de Sanchez's detailed criticisms are evidently valid. Although no one knows exactly how much the remainder of the reconstruction work will cost, the French estimates run between 20,000,000,000 and 30,000,000,000 paper francs. A correction is obviously required in Mr. Sinclair's figures for bank note increase. But with due allowance for such minor corrections, the main points made by Mr. Sinclair hold. The actual financial position of France is not much more favorable on Mr. de Sanchez's showing than on Mr. Sinclair's.—THE EDITORS.]

Turkish Massacres

SIR: Mr. Peffer, in his New Republic article, expresses the opinion that the movement now afoot to bring about the rejection by the Senate of the Lausanne Treaty might result disastrously for the remaining Armenians in Turkey, and advocates acceptance of the new status quo.

Submission to the lawless is an invitation to lawlessness. Some men hand over to the highwayman their pocketbook, others resist, and, perhaps, perish in the struggle. Mr. Peffer condemns the Turks, as we do, as ruthless barbarians, when he argues that they would wreak vengeance upon the innocent for the acts of others. That argument should be conclusive against our having anything to do with them.

We do not pretend to represent the Armenians in Turkey. They are helpless hostages; but we do speak for the life of a nation.

It is pure nonsense to say that the massacres by the Turks were due to outside instigation or provocation by the Armenians. Massacre, outrage and plunder have been, at all times, the established policy of the Turks.

In 1048 they massacred 100,000 and enslaved 50,000 at Erzerum. In 1453, Mahomet massacred and enslaved nearly the whole population that had survived the rigors of the siege of Constantinople. In 1526, Suleyman, in one of his fifteen invasions of Hungary, massacred 200,000 and enslaved 100,000 of the inhabitants. According to John Foord, before the Turks came, Asia Minor had an estimated population of 32,000,000—now reduced to approximately 5,000,000.

In 1338, Orkhan, the second Sultan of Turkey, inaugurated the system of Janissaries. Under that system, the Turkish authorities, throughout a period of 310 years, forcibly tore Christian children of tender years from their parents; reared them as Moslems, and formed of them a military corps, known as Janissaries, who constituted the mainstay of the armies of Turkey, and established the reputation for military virtue of that predatory state.

In the period of 385 years (1389-1774), Turkish power was supreme. During that entire period they gave nothing to civilization, but, on the contrary, plunged into barbarism those lands which had, until their advent, led the world in the arts of civilized life.

In 1803, the Christians, by a petition to the Sultan, complained that ". . . they were attacked in their religion, their morality and their honor. No husband was secure as to his wife, no father as to his daughter . . ."

Between 1821 and 1914, the inoffensive Turks massacred Greeks, Nestorians, Maronites, Bulgarians, Serbs, Armenians, Macedonians, Albanians and Arabs.

They did not conquer all of Armenia until 1915. According to Lord Bryce, during the nineteenth century, the Armenians of Zeitun in Cilicia won sixty-five battles with the Turks, and retained autonomy. The first Armenian revolutionary society was organized in 1880, for the purpose of securing the long delayed performance of the 61st article of the Treaty of Berlin which provided for the inauguration of certain much needed reforms in Armenia.

According to General Harbord and Baron von Vangenheim, German Ambassador in Constantinople in 1916, and numerous other authorities, the Turks, with the avowed purpose of solving the Armenian problem by their extermination, slaughtered 800,000 Armenians. The Kemalists, during their four years of rule, have butchered 300,000 Armenians and nearly one million Greeks. And at last, after 1900 years of glorious history—glorious in its attainments and in its endurance, Christianity has been extinguished in Asia Minor, except for a few thousand Armenian and Greek stragglers; except for the forlorn victims who cry for their release from degrading slavery in Turkish harems.

Mr. Peffer alleges the necessity of our sending over 500,000 troops, if we want to help the Armenians. We do not advocate war; but if we did make war on Turkey, we would not require even 50,000 men. Mr. Peffer forgets that Kemal did not beat the Greeks militarily. He forgets that when the Kemalists reached the shores of the Marmora, with the avowed purpose of crossing over into Europe, they were faced by General Harrington with but 20,000 men under his command, and the "victorious" Turkish army dared not pass beyond the line defined by him.

Mr. Peffer speaks of four to five million Turks. We say that if these Turks are entitled to independence and to 300,000 square miles, the Armenian people, of whom there are now over 3,000,000, are likewise and actually entitled to independence and to a part of their national heritage. The Sèvres Treaty allotted to Armenia 40,000 square miles. This territory is now a veritable desert. There are no more than 200,000 stragglers within its borders. The Turks do not need it.

We certainly favor an understanding, if possible, between the remaining 200,000 Armenians in Turkey and the Turks. But, I cannot conceive that the Turks would accord any tolerable treatment to these Armenians merely from pity. Neither the Turks nor the Christian powers would recognize the rights

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of the Armenians, if the Armenians meekly accept anything that is offered.

At any rate, we must think of a far greater number of Armenian exiles and refugees. We hold that the Turks must eventually come to an understanding with the Armenian race, and we mean to do all that lies in our power to have our government exert its full moral influence on the side of Armenian reintegration and emancipation. The only way we can put an end to the necessity for the continuance of the N. E. R. and the burden it imposes upon American charity will be achieved by offering the Armenian an opportunity to make himself again self-supporting.

We believe, on the basis of ample information, that the Kemalist régime must soon fall. A government, whose revenues represent about one-tenth of its expenditures, cannot continue.

We are opposing the Lausanne Treaty upon American grounds primarily, and only secondarily upon Armenian grounds. I assume that the three former American Ambassadors to Turkey, and Professor Hart, Professor Hamlin, Dr. Gibbons, Professor Jessup, Colonel Jackson and others, who are enlisted in this movement, know what they are talking about.

New York City. JAMES W. GERARD.

Loss in the Surtax under the Mellon Plan

SIR: I observe in the Congressional Record a quotation from an editorial appearing in your journal of January 23, 1924, in which you refer to the amount of the reduction in the surtaxes under the so-called Mellon plan as $102,000,000, taking these figures in round numbers from the table attached to a letter written by the Secretary of the Treasury to me.

Apparently you have misunderstood the basis of the computation under which these figures were derived. At the top of the table you will observe the words: "Loss in tax when all changes are in full effect." The government actuary, Mr. McCoy, in explaining this statement, said that the figures in the table were his estimates with reference to the loss in the surtaxes two years after the proposed law went into full effect.

If the comparison had been made on the basis of the 1923 returns, that is, assuming that there would be the same number of taxpayers in each bracket of the income tax, it would have shown that the loss would be about $100,000,000 more, or about $202,000,000. Evidently it was considered by the Treasury that the effect of the proposed rates would be to so stimulate business as to greatly increase the incomes taxable under the lower brackets, and also that the government receipts would be increased by a change of investments from tax-exempt securities to business that was taxable; and that upon the whole the government revenues would be increased in this way about $100,000,000, making the net loss about $102,000,000, as stated in the Secretary's letter to me. I do not agree with this estimate.

WILLIAM R. GREEN,
Chairman, Committee on Ways and Means.

Washington, D. C.

"Not Too Loud!"

SIR: Is it true that the oil scandal is just a matter of Democrats throwing political mud at Republicans?

As a simple matter of arithmetic, is it not true that ten out of ten Republicans who amount to anything want this scandal shut up, and that nine out of ten Democrats, who figure at all in national affairs, don't want this thing to "go too far?" And does not this permit the conclusion that it is nineteen to one that the public will not get too much information?

Easton, Pennsylvania. IRRELEVAX.

Thomas J. Walsh for President

SIR: I beg leave to disagree with the conclusion of John W. Owens in your issue of February 20, to which you also subscribe in an editorial in the same issue, that the removal of W. G. McAdoo as a candidate, as a result of the oil disclosures, ends all hope that a progressive can be nominated by either of the old parties. The further conclusion is that a third party is necessary.

I take it that the inference involved is that McAdoo is the only outstanding liberal in the Democratic party. What is the matter with the Senator who writes for you in the same issue? Senator Thomas J. Walsh has been a consistent progressive all his life; he believes in a foreign policy of coöperation with the rest of the world; his political availability is very high because he single handedly ferreted out the corruption in oil of the Harding Administration. What more can you ask?

Plainfield, New Jersey. WALTER MEASDAY, JR.

The "Old" vs. the "New" Immigration

SIR: I have read with great interest the article entitled The Immigration Question, issue of February 27, 1924. The suggested quota for the various nations on the basis of naturalization seems fair, but your suggested method of procedure, however, would be unfair. You would take as a basis the number of each group of nationals who had become naturalized. The older immigrants, that is the so-called Nordics, have been in this country for a greater period of time than those of the Alpine and Mediterranean races. Naturally, therefore, greater opportunity and more time was given them for naturalization. The Greeks, for example, who have come recently to our shores, would have fewer citizens to their credit in proportion to their total number than would be the case of nationals from Germany. The equitable procedure would be to determine the average length of time the various nationals remained in this country before they filed application for their final papers.

The National Industrial Conference Board has procured figures covering 13,849 aliens who filed petitions for naturalization in twenty-eight representative federal and state courts, and it has been found that the average length of stay of all aliens in this country before they take out their final citizenship papers is 10.6 years.

The following is a table showing the country and years of residence of its people before filing the petition:

Greece	8.6	Scotland	10.6
Ireland	9.6	Norway	10.8
Russia	9.6	Italy	11.4
Rumania	9.8	England	11.7
Hungary	9.9	Germany	11.9
Holland	10.1	France	11.9
Denmark	10.2	Switzerland	12.2
Austria	10.5	Sweden	13.1
Finland	10.5	Canada	16.4

The inescapable conclusion to be derived from these figures is that, contrary to common impression, the greatest amount of civic and political interest—and thus greater assimilability—is not shown by the nationals of the "old" European immigration, but by those of the "new" immigration.

EMANUEL CELLER.

Washington, D. C.

SIR: One is a bit surprised to see the New Republic arguing through feeling rather than through reason, in the issue of February 20, on the subject of the proposed change in the present immigration law, which does seem to be based on some interesting facts. Those interested in some of these facts might like to consult Brigham's Intelligence of the American People, or for a fuller treatment, Vol. XV of the Memoirs of the National Academy of Science on Intelligence Testing in the U. S. Army.

The general level of intelligence of the American people would appear to be falling, and that, rather too fast, and since our form of government is democratic, this may be undesirable if it be allowed to continue. There has been within the last few decades a marked decrease in the immigration of the Nordic elements of our population and an amazing increase in the southern and eastern European elements. Can we deny that what we *have* become, rather than what we *may* become, we owe in part at least to our earlier immigration? Why then should we discriminate against the Nordics by making the percentage quota of those to be admitted to this country of 1900 rather than of 1890, when Nordics were coming in greater numbers?

It isn't that we don't want southern Europeans, but that we do want the Nordics, who have already demonstrated their usefulness in helping to build our country. We are not casting slurs upon races, far, far from it, and why suggest that we are? This is not a matter for feeling and sentiment but for rational and unemotional thinking the thing through.

New York City. MARY GOODYEAR EARLE.

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Two Revues

IF you go from Charlot's Revue to the Music Box it is like passing from a certain more or less English home to a spanking, expensive New York apartment.

In one place there is something in the air that is like an old philosophy, something that is about human living, not very profound but nevertheless secure and traditional. Sex is present as an engaging undercurrent, winked at and sweetened up. There is a sort of sentiment and shy false gayety; and now and then something of the homely poetry of bread. There is the laborious affability of a more or less meditative, quiet-witted and unsocial race. There is a lasting savor of native dullness and a strain of wit, of humor and ironical courage. And there is also in this house a sense of solidity about expenses; one feels a certain reserve in the matter of display, a reserve that derives from taste perhaps but also from a great respect for property and a dislike for spending too much.

The other place is a whooped-up, costly realm, where you are sure to find the most expensive plumbing in the largest city in the world; and where the hands of the highest priced and most energetic and fastest decorators have made things ready for the eye. There is not time for a circle of people exactly, but many rush through those easy, well-oiled doors. There is not so much gayety as activity; everything is lively but very little is alive. All this appears to have no soul, but there is in it a kind of barbarous, hasty heart. And little remains to you afterwards, when you have gone away, but a sense of bright happenings and cheerful lavishness.

If it is true that in the English revue there is not a great deal of talent, you may say at least that in a sober way the professional skill is well seen to. Mr. Jack Buchanan has little gift but he is proficient and agreeable, though he gives the impression of working harder for his New York laurels than he would have to do in an adoring London. Miss Lawrence also is agreeable and proficient in what seems to be a winning quality. Miss Beatrice Lillie is one of the most remarkable talents that I have seen in the theatre. Visually the whole performance is tame and comfortable and never quite ugly; whacking off the numbers with the switch board, making dull but homely and undisturbing pictures and effects, and gently appealing to that sturdy lack of taste that waits in the Anglo-Saxon breast. One picture is beautiful and wistful and charming, where the little Pierrot sits among the cushions. The playlet acted and then acted backwards, and the playlet acted indistinctly and then at the top of the lungs, both these have an amusing, week-end house-party humor and invention; and contrive very happily not to smash through toward a great punch. And what would make Charlot's Revue, if there were nothing else in it all through but boredom and aching bones, is the Rule Britannia.

Miss Beatrice Lillie comes on in a black dress with the inevitable scarf and tassels around the neck. A high corset like the queen's. A blond head of hair, put up with firm blousiness and a blue ribbon, the blue of turquoise and forget-me-nots. The elbows are angular; the face full of character. She sings, not on the key always, but full of strong attack and matronly strength of will. Various beauties appear in the nature of a chorus, young things not properly clothed. The lady does not yield an inch. She goes on singing, however she may push at them. One of the beauties steps on the lady's train and dislodges it. The beauties tend to walk about and express themselves, not even realizing that this English lady has lost her train. She keeps being rushed out of her place by these creatures, and time after time the line of them carries her to the very edge of the stage. She never gives up, however, and time after time she regains the centre of the stage. She forgets the train and leaves it where it lies; but the desire for the centre of the stage remains. She disappears for a moment but returns in national colors with a golden helmet. The helmet does not sit well and is worn badly but it is imperial. More beauties appear, with their dimpled knees and silly banners. Britannia breaks through them, drawn by all the power of pride, possessiveness, obtuseness and strong character, to the central point in the attention of that world in front. On the beauties come, line after line, like armies, like the waves of the sea; Britannia meets them all; and, though one of the presented lances pricks her from behind, she comes out in the lead. Britannia will never be a slave, that much is clear; though it is equally clear that nobody wants her to be; all anyone asks is to be allowed to walk about prettily in the sun. Meanwhile there is something winning about her; one likes her, dense, ruddy and selfish as she is, better than Brunhilde or Minerva after all.

The wisest burlesque I have ever seen and the subtlest burlesque technique! Miss Beatrice Lillie is a great comic and an astonishing artist, full of impish philosophy and uncanny methods of making points. And it must be said to the eternal credit of the English that no other race could see itself and laugh at itself with so much humor and bludgeoning parody as happens in this skit.

After Rule Britannia the interval of the Music Box seems just that, an interval. One of those cheering interludes when we go out and buy something, not because we want it so much perhaps but because life is so full of everything and nothing, because there are so many girls and so many boys as well—the English revue, I may add, has for the most part only solid and not very dainty men, and very few of them at that—and because there is so much silk and electric light, so much jazz, slow and fast, with a good orchestra to play it; so many people coming through town and so many dinners in it; and all in all so much to do. In this entertainment nothing is pushed to its bounds, the standard of excellence is to have a little bit for everybody; the comedy, the sentiment, the music, the décor, the ideas, tricks, impersonations, nothing insists on getting anywhere. Mr. Frank Tinney is truly comic; Miss Florence Moore is funny and a sure hand at her business; and the dramatic numbers explode themselves with a bang. But most of the performance remains, in spite of its energetic smile, pretty hard, and chill-minded.

What may in the future come out of this type of English revue can be predicted. A safe humor and pleasant, civilized form of amusement, lovable, smiling, restful, and filled, at its best, with a genuine criticism of society and human ways. It has done already as much as it can ever do.

To conjecture what might come out of this American revue is an exciting adventure. Is there really something wild inherent here? Obviously there is amazing skill, energy, industry, determination to keep things going, naïve interest in sheer quantity. If you stand in the lobby of some of our New York hotels you may have the same wonder; out of so much energy and careless good temper and hasty faith, and bright, endlessly repeated plumage, will anything important come? The chances for and against may be fifty-fifty; more perhaps, perhaps less.

STARK YOUNG.

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A French View of the Oil Situation

Oil—Its Influence on Politics, by Francis Delaisi. Translated from the French by C. L. Leese. London: The Labour Publishing Co., Ltd., and George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.

M. FRANCIS DELAISI has written a very interesting and instructive little book. He has here presented us with a view of the oil situation that is peculiarly French—a view that he shares with the two other Frenchmen who have written extensively on this subject, Senator Henri Berenger, author of Le Pétrole et la France, and M. De La Tramerye, author of La Lutte Mondiale Pour Le Pétrole.

M. Delaisi presents the following thesis. It is known to every student of international politics, that the safety and existence of the British Empire depends on England's ability to control the seas. This she has been able to do for more than a hundred years. Her naval supremacy has rested, so to speak, upon three pillars: the Navy, the Merchant Marine and Coal. Due to the coaling stations which she has established upon the world's trade routes, no ship can cross the ocean without her permission. "Furthermore, coal assures to all her ships an outward freight certain of sale in any country," a fact "which enables them to give lower homeward freights than any other nation." As a result of this, British industries have long enjoyed "the equivalent of a rebate upon all raw materials bought abroad." A very favorable advantage in the struggle for foreign markets! "It might be said," concludes the author, "that the whole commercial and industrial prosperity of Britain has rested for a century upon this mastery of coal" (page 20).

But these old pillars are now slowly being undermined. Crude oil is fast taking the place of coal as our chief source of fuel supply. "Oil, confined at first to industries on land, began to conquer the seas." Oil is cheaper, less bulky, and more easily handled than coal. It gives more heat than coal, and, "with the same expenditure of power," considerably increases the steaming radius of the ship. The great naval powers are already placing their fleets on an oil-burning basis, and the international shipping companies are following suit.

Unfortunately for Britain, the Empire proper produces only small quantities of oil. Most of the petroleum now consumed comes from the United States. Should the United States establish "oil depots in the principal parts" no ship would be able to cross the ocean without the permission of the American oil merchants. "The military security and the commercial supremacy of the United Kingdom are (thus) threatened at one and the same time."

The world's estimated oil supply amounts to 60,000,000,000 barrels. Of these only 7,000,000,000 are in the United States. The rest is found in Central and South America, in Asia, in the East Indies, etc., etc. To get the remaining 53,000,000,000 barrels under English control, became the chief goal of British diplomacy. This was a difficult task. However, her statesmen acted with great skill and vigor. In the comparatively short period of four or five years, "they planned and carried through . . . a monopoly of practically all the world's oil resources" that are found outside of the United States.

Writing to the London Times, Sir Edward M. Edgar prophesies that within ten years, America will be forced to import 500,000,000 barrels of oil annually at $2.00 per barrel. This means a yearly expenditure of $1,000,000,000, most of which "will find its way into British pockets." Sir Edward does not fear an American counter-attack, for, with but few exceptions, America will find the outer world securely barricaded against them.

M. Delaisi does not believe that the United States will long submit to this state of affairs. With plenty of oil on hand, the United States does not yet fully realize the extent of the danger. In the future, however, Americans will demand a greater participation in the control of the world's oil resources. In this future conflict, France must throw her weight in favor of the United States, since it is only by favoring the American oil interests that she can hope to regain that independence of action, in matters concerning oil, which she had signed away at San Remo.

Le Pétrole is not a scientific treatise on oil and its influence on international politics. It is a popular book, written in a journalistic style, but valuable, nevertheless, because it gives us a view of the oil situation as it effects France and her interests.

HERMAN SILVERMAN.

Mr. Huxley's Cosmic Honeymoon

Essays of a Biologist, by Julian Huxley. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

WITH Mr. Huxley it is not a question of competence. As a scientist he commands wide resources and his writing is blessed with insight, frankness, and with charm, gayety and wit. Accordingly, if we amend his prefatory verdict, "not especially biological," with our own, "not especially scientific either," we lay ourselves open to the charge of blindness in the face of virtue. But our difficulties lie elsewhere; his use of science, his manipulations, the distinction between good mysticism and bad (page 291), all this creates an atmosphere alien to the scientific workshop. And here we must be on guard. After all the dusky meadows are open even to scientists; to argue that none should cross over is to make a spectacle of oneself.

But there is an issue. By courtesy, a scientist is credited with superior knowledge about the unknown; and the public, hard-driven by compulsions to believe, and unaware that science is an affair of coöperation, is only too ready to accept at par, utterances in the mystical mood. The scientist in this state, however, speaks not for his government, but in the first person singular, and for himself alone. Our problem then is not whether anyone is justified in being a mystic; the point is, where in any particular case does science begin and end.

Once discovered, the unity that drains Mr. Huxley's mind can be picked up almost at random. On page 215 a conscious disavowal of purpose bespeaks the hardened mechanist; in the essay on birds (page 107) human cleverness, human stupidity, feeling and emotion, all flit about bedecked in feathers; and in the discourse on sociology the conflict rises to the surface as a dilemma between continuity and its opposite; between old things in old relations and old things in new ones. Mr. Huxley, an evolutionist of the old school, anxious to "preserve our scientific sanity," our "belief in the orderliness of the

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world," proposes "the same category as mind," not merely in birds where the justice of it is considerable but also "in lower organisms and in the lifeless matter from which they originally sprang." (page 27). But apart from our ignorance about origins, the sweep of this assumption is hardly characteristic of science. Were it so, we should still be deriving the wetness of water from two gases, one or both a trifle, though not noticeably wet, and Niels Bohr, fearing mental dilapidation would throw away all atoms likely to contradict the obvious teachings of Ecclesiastes.

Mr. Huxley's Progress is as subjective as his continuity. Most of us are ready to admit that evolution, by and large, exhibits direction; there can be no objection to using "the term biological progress to denote movement in the direction we have sketched" (page 27); and, with less danger to the objective validities than one might think, we grant that this movement is similar "in direction to the direction in which history as a whole shows we are moving (page 260); similar in fact to "that which we desire with our highest aspirations." Still, we hesitate, for at the brink Mr. Huxley whisks away the original adjective and leaves us to face progress mitigated, to be sure, in other ways, yet beckoning not too coldly toward a Universe where "all things work together for righteousness" (page 261). We can stand this better if we recall Mr. Huxley's disavowal of Golden Milleniarism (page 57), and taking both passages at once, righteousness and progress in the generic, diluted with ample provisions for growth, prove a trifle less heady; more in accord with the experiences of other scientists who find every little asset encumbered by a liability of its own and hence feel more at ease in the company of equilibria than amidst even the limited pomp of adolescent finalities.

The essay on Sex, copied in part in these columns recently, is interesting chiefly as a trail up the Delectable Mountains. Exempt from rebellious and disaffected states and with our personalities thoroughly harmonized, we begin the ascent. On the way up Mr. Huxley recalls that man is an insatiable creature; meet the demands for knowledge and beauty as we may, there remains always unhappiness; always a sense of weakness and futility; always the splendor, the unspeakable magnitude and wonder of the Universe. Religion there must be and a God; yet the God of the theologians fails to square with the achievements of the human intellect.

In this difficult situation, Mr. Huxley introduces a private pinch-hitter of his own. He asks us "to give the name God to the sum of the forces acting in the cosmos as perceived and grasped by human mind" and molded by its gift for organization (page 262). And this last is most important; it enables us to apprehend experience not "as a mere sum of details, but however vaguely and imperfectly as a single idea, unitary in spite of its complexity" (page 265); furthermore, it leads to something "organized after the same general pattern as a personality;" "able to act in this same sort of way" (page 281); and finally, by interpenetration with his private personality, becomes potent for Mr. Huxley in religious ecstasy. At all events, he describes "a resolution of conflicts, an attainment of a profound serenity, a conviction that the experience is of the utmost value and importance" (page 283); in fact not unlike the state in which "passionate love involves every fibre of the mental organization, hopes and ideals converging with memories and instincts on to the highest pitch of being." (page 270).

No scientist can legitimately interrupt Mr. Huxley's honeymoon with the cosmos. An experience of the utmost privacy, it falls outside the sphere of science. Even the implied injunction to go and do likewise faces a double-barrelled fatality. If our personification includes "not only the celestial bodies or the rocks and waters, not only evolving life, but also other human beings, also ideas, also ideals," (page 283) how are people untrained in science ever to "find" an adequate religion; and how can a personality thoroughly unified to begin with remain so and at the same time split off another with which a subsequent reunion then becomes possible?

Again we have the essential distinction. The significance of this book is not that it was written by a biologist, but that it was written by a human being, without reference to the formalized demands of science. And in this rôle, the scientist, even when clear about his moods, runs a risk peculiar to his walk of life. As a purely private person, Mr. Huxley of course has the right to any mood; yet if he chooses to indulge in mysticism, the public must realize that at that particular moment he is not contributing to the advance or understanding of science. The experiences he describes are real, and capable of scientific study; in the aspects here laid bare, however, they remain like the taste of fresh olives, incommunicable, irrational, and final. Science can be shared and transmitted; indeed is not itself until so shared; but by the very nature of the case, everyone must be his own mystic. For many this is the greatest of all tragedies—this loneliness that remains forever the constant companion of the soul.

OTTO GLASER.

Political Science: New Style

Boss Platt and His New York Machine; a study of the political leadership of Thomas C. Platt, Theodore Roosevelt, and others, by Harold F. Gosnell, with an Introduction by Charles E. Merriam. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. $3.00

THE social sciences are in a state of fermentation. The inner disturbance has been in process for years, manifesting itself principally as a conflict between a decaying intellectualism and a nascent scientific methodology. The ascendancy of statistical method provided a short-cut which many of the younger malcontents accepted only too readily. Counting supplanted thinking. But this resulted in nothing more than a refined form of intellectualism, since the same things were counted. Thus far the application of statistical method to the social sciences has turned out to be a mathematical verification of preconceived concepts. The present agitation appears to be an attempt to find out what is being counted.

Professor Gosnell has isolated a single political concept as the point of focus for his departure in method. He is concerned with the problem of political leadership. The objective materials for study were sought in the political career of Thomas C. Platt. No better selection could have been made; the term leadership as a useful concept for the science of government is at once clarified when used as a functional term to describe "the old man," the "Easy Boss." His political career occupied the space of half a century and for at least two decades his personality was the point of convergence for the political forces of the

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State of New York. During the restricted period with which Professor Gosnell is chiefly concerned, his leadership includes control of the Republican machine of New York and effective influence over the national organization. These innumerable ramifications of the power of his leadership are painstakingly traced out by the author. In the end one comes to know in minute detail how Mr. Platt dictated nominations, directed legislation, "took care of the boys" in the distribution of spoils, controlled appointive offices—in short, one learns how he exercised power. But the mystery of Thomas C. Platt still remains. The behavioristic account of his activities fails to disclose and illumine the nature of his power. His leadership is left as a series of responses, but to what did he respond? In Platt's autobiographical rationalization of his career, he insists that he "drifted into politics—just drifted." But leadership is not drift.

Professor Gosnell appears to be aware of the compulsion which his method implies, namely, to observe and describe leadership in its setting. He begins with a condensed (eleven pages) chapter entitled Social and Economic Background, but he fails to indicate clearly the relation this background bears to Platt's leadership. He also introduces other personalities, Theodore Roosevelt, Chauncey Depew, Roscoe Conkling, Levi P. Morton, William Barnes, Jr., et cetera, but it is difficult to determine when these are mere responses to Platt's leadership and when they serve only as foils. Roosevelt, for example, comes out as a rather obstreperous but none too brilliant Antony who dares his ends only after he is assured that Caesar's ghost is more real than Caesar himself. These shortcomings probably arise from a too firm attachment to historical methods which tends to dim the prior psychological assumptions. But even Motley knew that the causes which brought about the decline of Philip II were involved in the ascendancy of William of Orange. When the purely historical method does go under in Professor Gosnell's volume, an overwhelming confusion results. Chapter VIII deals with, according to title, Governor Roosevelt and Boss Platt, but the chronological disorder is so great that the reader is obliged to turn back repeatedly to learn whether the activity described is related to Governor Black, Governor Morton or Governor Roosevelt.

The defects of the volume under consideration may be disposed of by stating that the method used by the author is inadequate. It essays the task of analysis, and within its limits, this effort is admirably conceived and executed. Whatever occurs by way of synthesis is incomplete; personalities are especially left without sufficient cohesion to be evaluated as wholes. Leadership as a function of the group, or as a function of "collective action," remains as a mere postulate; the method used by Professor Gosnell reveals almost nothing about the group (the "machine") that is not first of all relevant to Mr. Platt either as control or stimulus. The differentiation between Roosevelt as a leader who needed no organization and Platt, who could function only through organization, is partial and unconvincing. These are, may it be said again, defects of method. The author reveals again and again his awareness of the pertinence of the questions raised above but his method is not capable of matching his intuitive revelation.

Turning abruptly from adverse to favorable criticism, one might begin by commending Professor Gosnell for possessing the temerity to project his new method in a field where method has been so sorely neglected. Professor Merriam's prophetic introduction does not go too far when it states, "Dr. Gosnell's study is sui generis among the examinations of political leaders, a novel attempt at closer analysis." What Dr. Gosnell has done will not need to be done again; it will merely need supplementary interpolations and these can appear only when the predictive bases of methodology contained in the introduction become a reality. Social scientists, and even political scientists for whom the study possesses specific interest, may fail to appreciate what Professor Gosnell has contributed but none can justifiably neglect the ringing challenge contained in Professor Merriam's introduction. This brief prolegomena fairly bristles with research bait; its summons, if heeded, might revolutionize both the study and the teaching of government. But it does more than this; it gives practical direction to future research and hints at hypotheses which are so significant that to leave them uninvestigated would amount to professional betrayal.

The volume exhibits the artificiality and absurdity of academic particularism in the social sciences. Psychology, sociology, economics and political science become nothing more than diverse approaches to a single problem and when this point of view is thoroughly impressed upon the "heads of departments" in colleges and universities, time and energy may be released for coöperating with Messrs. Merriam and Gosnell in their most commendable effort to evolve a valid method. The political scientists of the old school will see nothing in it; the adherents of the new school may fairly regard this work as the first solid contribution to an emerging method which is destined to bring the study of government within the sphere of science.

E. C. Lindeman.

Carlyle till Marriage

Carlyle till Marriage. Vol. I, 1795-1826, by David Alec Wilson. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. $6.00.

WHAT a weary waste of years it seems to some of us, who still live on to remember Carlyle as he appeared in the flesh, since the day when we first read of his death in Chelsea in the spring of 1881! And what an avalanche of words has been accumulated over his grim tombstone in Ecclefechan since that same day when the spirit of the author of Sartor Resartus took its flight to find at last the silence he had so often broken in the vasty Halls of Death!

Carlyle left behind him, in good honest print, the books he had managed (no easy task) "to get written" with his own hand; all of them torn out of his heart-strings; these books, each one his very own, now fill in any collected edition some thirty-four volumes, and are admirably indexed.

These works begin with a Life of Schiller, first published in book-form in 1825 (nearly a hundred years ago), and may be said to end (though here we are outstepping the "thirty-four") with those two intensely autobiographical volumes of Reminiscences which are dated 1881.

Is it not time, we are almost forced to ask, that this great old man should find compassion in his grave and be left alone with his books, which may be trusted to tell the tale to those who still care to hear it—what manner of man this Thomas Carlyle, "Writer of Books," really was?

Of Mr. Froude's part in releasing this lamentable ava-

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lanche of words, now enclosed in more than twenty-five separate volumes, there is no need to speak. He, too, has disappeared, leaving behind him nearly thirty volumes which also tell, as is, indeed, the tell-tale habit of books, what manner of man *he* was.

Froude's Life of Carlyle, in four volumes (1884), can no longer hold its own against the criticism which has raked it fore and aft. He wrote it in a great hurry, eager to catch his market; and forgetting that in Carlyle's case there was no need to be in any hurry at all, he was content to write a great deal of his biography out of his own head. Froude's Life is, we now see, largely a romance.

Shortly before the romance, and a little after the invaluable Reminiscences of Carlyle himself, there appeared in 1883 three volumes containing Mrs. Carlyle's letters, annotated and explained by her aged and heart-broken husband; and it was thus upon these nine volumes, published in such unseemly haste, that the greedy reading public swooped, and, in the once familiar language of old Craigenputtock, "opened its wide mouth and began shrieking." Gossips, who had never read a line of Sartor Resartus (first published as a book in 1837), scampered to Mudie's in search of a copy, to find out whether Blumine was Jane Welsh or Margaret Gordon. As time went on other writers joined in the orgy on one side or the other, until even doctors were invited to break the sacred confidences of their profession and to expose to the vulgar gaze the "secret" of the life of Thomas Carlyle, so as to enable "justice" to be done, at the dinner table, to the "penance" which the husband was supposed to have inflicted upon himself when, in his desolate old age, he gathered together and prepared for posthumous, though not immediate, publication the letters of his invalid wife. One would have to be miraculously endowed with the biting wit of the wife and the savage humor of the husband to express the disgust created by what Mr. Wilson in the book before us describes, with very little exaggeration, as "a carnival of obscenity."

Thirty-six volumes of the genuine "Thomas," simply crammed with his intense individuality, and full to overflowing with autobiography, ought to be enough, without one being asked to find room for thirty more volumes professing to explain what two of the most vitalizing writers who have ever held a pen—namely, Carlyle and his wife—have already made, almost excruciatingly, plain to all decent folk who have learned the art of reading a book.

Mr. Wilson thinks otherwise, and it would be presumptuous to dispute the matter with him. He has devoted more than thirty years of his own life to prepare himself to write Carlyle's, which he proposes to do in a series of volumes likely to extend (so he tells) over many years. This volume is the first. A man with a mission must be left alone.

Mr. Wilson is an honest chronicler with a style of his own. Though an enthusiastic admirer of the great Thomas, he is sufficiently at ease on his Mount Zion to poke a little fun at his hero, and quite alive to the absurdity of taking au sérieux the outbursts, however pontifically expressed, in which the greatest humorist of the last century was too much inclined to indulge. An Isaiah who makes you shake with laughter has to be handled humorously.

This first volume cannot fail to interest, and so long as it does not induce the young reader to forget that he can find the story of Carlyle's birth and breeding in Annandale, *told by himself,* in his own unforgettable style, in his own Reminiscences, all will be well; and though we can hardly hope ourselves to live to see the conclusion of Mr. Wilson's biography of Carlyle, we bestow (though it is hardly worth possessing) our blessing upon the whole undertaking.

One word of warning, we think, we ought to give. In the intensely interesting and almost Richardsonian account which Mr. Wilson gives of Carlyle's prolonged courtship of his wife, during which "acres" of love-letters passed between them, we think we detect a growing dislike to the lady, fostered, perhaps, by the knowledge that Mr. Froude was very fond of her. This is a mistake which Mr. Wilson, if he is wise, will do his best to avoid in future. That Jane Carlyle was a flirt from her cradle upwards, no son of Adam who has read her delightful letters can possibly deny—and why should he wish to do so? Every woman worth her salt is, or has been, a flirt, and Jane Carlyle was to the last as fond of a "beau" as if she had been a character in one of the novels of another Jane. Can it be that Confucius, whose name is constantly on Mr. Wilson's lips, and at the end of his pen, disliked flirts? If so, Confucius was not so wise a man as we are quite willing to believe him to have been. Mr. Wilson's references to the Confucian philosophy that impart a Chinese air to his first volume are amusing enough, but, if the Life is to occupy many more volumes, the biographer would do well to make them fewer and fewer as the work proceeds. We say at least as much in the interests of Confucius as of Carlyle, who can safely be left through the centuries to take care of himself.

AUGUSTINE BIRRELL.

Mr. Hardy and the Pleated Skirt

Collected Poems of Thomas Hardy. New York: The Macmillan Company. $3.00.

ONE of the poems of earlier reference in the Diamond Jubilee collection of Mr. Hardy's Lyrical, Narratory, and Reflective Poetry immortalizes a winsome young girl wearing a pleated skirt. Pleated skirts, which went out of fashion for a great number of years, came back quite recently, still characteristically pleated, but altogether different in cut and shorter in length by very many inches. Let the pleated skirt point this moral—that though the old forms unexpectedly return to give a certain approval to the idea of history repeating itself, these revivals are only revivals in outline; there is nothing old under the sun. If Mr. Hardy's earlier poetry is enjoyed now, this enjoyment is not of the original impact, but of the ricochet; and, if Mr. Hardy's poetry was for many years neglected by his contemporaries, let it not be set down to their shame; when in 1866 Mr. Hardy found the world a welter of crass casuality and the gods a group of purblind Doomsters, that conclusion was unfavorable to the optimistic expansion of the Victorian Age. Similarly, when industrial development was being hopefully applied to agriculture, when the steam-plough, the thresher-and-binder, and the Scottish farm-factor were looked to as heralds of a golden age of rural prosperity, the folklore of the wooden plough and the wooden spade and the jog-trot, unaffected rhythms of the backward West-country muse could not be expected to please. Since 1866 every-

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thing has changed: national faith in industrialism has waned long ago, and it is to the folk-element in Mr. Hardy's verses that the disillusioned Georgian makes his or her escape, a tendency confirmed by the great modern revival throughout England, both in city parks and on village greens, of morris dancing and the singing of the very songs which occur in snatches throughout the Wessex Novels.

There is, of course, a corresponding change in Mr. Hardy; in his later work the folk-element has become, we will not say self-conscious; but the home-spun and hand-made, offered once in defiance of the machine-made, are now complaisant to the romantic interest taken in them by the victims of industrial progress. Moreover, though Mr. Hardy had been a sceptic for fifty years, as he says in On a Midsummer Eve, apparently written in 1916:

> I lipped rough rhymes of chance, not choice,
> I thought not what my words might be,

latterly

> There came into my ear a voice
> That turned a tenderer verse for me.

Further, he rebukes himself in Surview, the last poem of the hundreds in this collection:

> *You held not to whatsoever was true,*
> Said my own voice, talking to me.
> *Whatsoever was just you were slack to see,*
> *Kept not things lovely and pure in view,*
> Said my own voice to me,

where evidently the "tenderer verse" is the conclusion

> *That the greatest of things is Charity,*

and the poet finishes content "if the sticks burn low, the fire go out, and his voice cease talking to him," for his scepticism need no longer trouble him in the light of this discovery. Yet Mr. Hardy should know that when his heart was "in its arrogancy," in late Victorian days, this Surview attitude was neither necessary nor possible. Moreover, Mr. Hardy's inability to hold to whatsoever was true in the religious sense, because he was baffled by the cries and counter-cries of a confused age, is the very quality that has raised him and Mr. A. E. Housman to the thrones of popularity from which the more confident Browning and Tennyson have lately been deposed. These previous poets, who could accept Darwinism and its implications, and so be preferred to poets who lived before the dawn of Higher Criticism (see Mr. Hardy's A Respectable Burgher on the Higher Criticism) were at any rate able to believe with Kant in an absolute moral law to be assumed even where lost sight of, and they could find its nearest practical illustration in the contemporary movements of Victorian progress and uplift. But as in philosophy M. Bergson asked questions which Kant, being dead, could not answer, and the pragmatists went on asking equally disconcerting questions, so in poetry there was a concurrent development of the pragmatic view that Caprice rules the world; and it is this view which Mr. Hardy has put gently, with certain important reservations, and which Mr. Housman has made a cry of almost unrelieved despair.

The scepticism of Hardy is best illustrated by a comparison with Mr. Housman's. Mr. Hardy once was defending himself to me against certain phantom accusers who charged him with pessimism: he said that he had been through his latest volume and had marked in the index the pessimistic, the optimistic, and the neutral poems, and found to his satisfaction that the two former categories paired off fairly closely. Mr. Housman could not make that claim for his Shropshire Lad, as he admits in "Terence, this is stupid stuff;" nor do Last Poems recant a word of the sentiment "Heaven and Earth ail from their prime foundations;" but for Mr. Hardy all along, whatever may be wrong with Heaven, Earth is honest and wholesome. For Mr. Housman, even in days of apparent peace over the countryside, the ancient struggle of forces personified as Celt and Saxon rages unabated—

> They cease not fighting, East and West,
> On the marches of my breast—

while for Mr. Hardy, even in the time of Jeremiah's prophesied Breaking of Nations, there is comfort in the sight of

> Only a man harrowing clods
> In a slow, silent walk,
> With an old horse that stumbles and nods,
> Half-asleep as they stalk.

The Shropshire Lad spends his Sunday mornings cynically lying with his lass on Bredon Hill with an insult for the matin's bell; Mr. Hardy's Wessex lad goes to church as he goes to his meals, and, despite doubtings of ultimate reality and life after death, Church is still Church and the pivot of village-life. When I last met Mr. Hardy he was at work on the restoration of a font in a Casterbridge church, and recommending his mother's view of baptism, that "it may not do any good, but then, again, it cannot do any harm." To the Shropshire Lad all lovely things are soon found to sting and perish and stink; Mr. Hardy finds that nothing is as good as one expects or as bad as one fears, and at his bitterest is only like the child saying to its mother: "Mother, next time you buy me a toy keep it locked up, so that I can't play with it and break it."

But to continue about Tennyson, let Mr. Hardy himself take up the tale:

> The bower we shrined to Tennyson,
> Gentlemen,
> Is roof-wrecked; damps there drip upon
> Sagged seats, the creeper-nails are rust,
> The spider is sole denizen.

Whatever Tennyson may have been to Mr. Hardy as a model of verse-craftsmanship, the bower shrined to Tennyson, the moralist of, say, Arthur and Guinevere, was very soon deserted if ever built, and Tennyson's admired landowner,

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A patron of some thirty charities,
A pamphleteer on guano and on grain,
A quarter-sessions chairman, abler none,

never received any homage that I can discover from the creator of the Mayor of Casterbridge. Note the thirty *charities*. It is not that Mr. Hardy,

When he weekly knew
The ancient pew
And murmured there
The forms of prayer,

did not always have before him the sentiment rediscovered in Surview, but that the previous exponents of "charity" had not been sympathetic, and "things lovely and pure" had become terms of sentimentality from which to turn in disgust; Lewis Carroll's satiric advice to a young poet was apt in late Victorian days:—

The Good, the True, the Beautiful,
Those are the things that pay.

The "charity" to which Mr. Hardy seeks a return is the simple Wessex charity of Under the Greenwood Tree, unconcerned with the academic charity of theologians or the benevolent tyranny of progressive quarter-sessions chairmen. But as with the return of the pleated skirt, so with charity: the new charity is not the antique kindliness of a bygone age revived, but a substitute for the scepticism which coined the terrible phrase "Cold as charity," and implies that though of the two commandments on which hang all the Law and the Prophets, the first is still unintelligible, confidence may be renewed in the second. To a great number of readers this solution will be satisfying, but to the extreme Housmanites, who have no feeling of a sure inheritance or faith in ultimate justice, it will be indistinguishable from the "God's in His Heaven, All's right with the world," and "Be good, sweet maid," of an earlier phase.

ROBERT GRAVES.

Contributors

GEORGE SOULE is director of the Labor Bureau, New York City.

JOHN W. OWENS has for a number of years been a political reporter on the staff of the Baltimore Sun.

JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES is the author of The Economic Consequences of the Peace, A Revision of the Treaty and most recently of Monetary Reform.

HERMAN SILVERMAN, a student of the oil situation, is a graduate of the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania.

OTTO GLASER is professor of biology at Amherst College and a lecturer at the New School for Social Research. He has published numerous papers in technical journals.

E. C. LINDEMAN was formerly a teacher of sociology and is the author of The Community.

AUGUSTINE BIRRELL, Honorable Fellow, Trinity Hall, Cambridge, since 1899, and Lord Rector, Glasgow University, 1911, has published Collected Essays, William Hazlitt, The Life of Charlotte Brontë, In the Name of the Bodleian, etc.

ROBERT GRAVES is an English poet, three of whose volumes of verse: Fairies and Fusiliers, Country Sentiment, and Pier Glass, and one book of criticism, On English Poetry, have been brought out in this country by Alfred Knopf.

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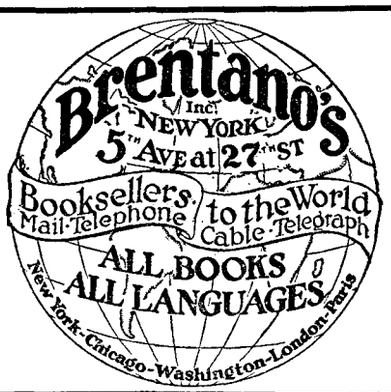

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